

STRANGERS AND EXILES

Religious Refugees

*A church
Scattered like leaves before the wind
Of autumn*

*A congregation of faithful men
Driven
Beyond the sunset and the stars*

*A communion of saints
Wandering homeless
Seeking a home*

*The body of Christ
Unbeing
Becoming*

*A sanctuary
Roofless no walls
Formless on no foundation*

*Cathédrale engloutie
Sans marque
Sans visage*

*Secret
Silent
Lonely*

*A church flowing
Like a river
Never stopping*

*Unchanneled
Unbound
Free*

*Are these wanderers
Homeless going home
Still the church?*

F.A.N.

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STRANGERS AND EXILES

A History of Religious Refugees

Volume II

Frederick A. Norwood



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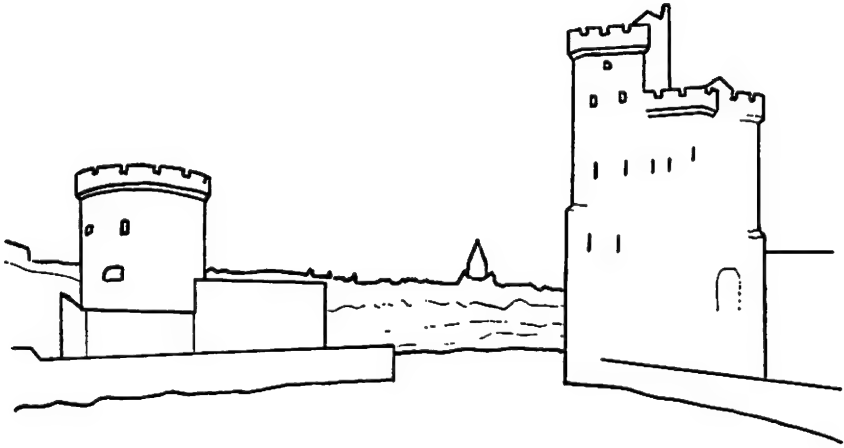
ABBREVIATIONS

AFSC	American Friends Service Committee
CCSA	Christian Committee for Service in Algeria
CCCVA	Central Coordinating Committee of Voluntary Agencies
CH	<i>Church History</i>
CIMADE	Comité Inter-Mouvements auprès des Évacués
CRS	Catholic Relief Services
CWRC	Christian Welfare and Relief Council
CWS	Church World Service
DHVGbl.	Deutscher Hugenotten Verein, <i>Geschichtsblätter</i>
DICARWS	Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugees, and World Service (WCC)
DICASR	Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees WCC)
HSLProc.	Huguenot Society of London, <i>Proceedings</i>
HSLPubs.	Huguenot Society of London, <i>Publications</i>
ICEM	Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration
IGCR	Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees
ILO	International Labor Organization
IRC	International Rescue Committee
IRO	International Refugee Organization
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
MCC	Mennonite Central Committee
MCOR	Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief
ME	<i>Mennonite Encyclopedia</i>
MQR	<i>Mennonite Quarterly Review</i>
NCC	National Council of the Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.
NCWC	National Catholic Welfare Conference
NECCCRW	Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work

SHAEF	Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force
SHPF <i>Bul.</i>	Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, <i>Bulletin</i>
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNKRA	United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency
UNRRA	United Nations Recovery and Rehabilitation Administration
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency
USCR	United States Committee for Refugees
USEP	United States Escapee Program
WCC	World Council of Churches

Part III

FROM OLD WORLD TO NEW WORLD (1685–1914)



Entrance, Harbor of La Rochelle, France

Chapter 19

Jews in and out of the Ghetto, 1492–1914

Klosterbruder: *Nathan! Nathan! Ihr seid
ein Christ!—Bei Gott, Ihr seid ein
Christ! ein bessrer Christ war nie!*

Nathan: *Wohl uns! Denn was mich Euch
zum Christen macht, das macht Euch
mir zum Juden!**

Lessing, *Nathan der Weise*

The story of the Jews is largely the story of refugees, and particularly the story of religious refugees. Most refugees in history have been driven from their homeland. The Jews are almost unique in not having had, during most of their history, a homeland from which to be driven. Over long eras they have repeatedly sought to settle permanently in one culture and country or another, eventually to be squeezed out. In ancient times, of course, they had their own homeland in Palestine. For nearly a millennium they found a *modus vivendi* among the Babylonians and Persians. They made various adjustments to European culture in the Middle Ages and, until 1492, enjoyed a high degree of stability in Spain. Then, beginning in the sixteenth century, new enterprises, or, to use Grayzel's phrase, "experiments in cooperation,"¹ enabled them to find a home in eastern Europe and western Asia. This is to say nothing of

* FRIAR: Nathan! Nathan! You are a Christian! By God, you are a Christian!
There never was a better Christian!

NATHAN: We are of one mind! For that which makes me, in your eyes, a Christian, makes you, in my eyes, a Jew!

¹ Solomon Grayzel, *History of the Jews*, p. 441.

the amazing migration to the New World, both northern and southern hemispheres, in modern times.

An earlier chapter has surveyed the history of the Jews as refugees down to the tremendous expulsion from Spain in 1492. This chapter undertakes to continue the account to the outbreak of World War I in 1914. Other chapters will deal with the American phase and World War II.

A. Sephardic Jews After 1492; the Ghetto

The decree of 30 March 1492, issued by the joint monarchs Ferdinand and Isabella, forced the emigration of around 150,000 Jews from Spain. After a while the Spanish Inquisition made life miserable for the Maranos, those Jews who had, sincerely or not, made a Christian profession. They, unlike the expelled Jews, were subject to the charge of heresy if they were found to be not true believers. Large numbers of Maranos joined their former compatriots in exile, where many of them reverted to the Judaism to which they had been faithful all along as inner conviction. About two-thirds of the exiles of 1492 moved across the land border into Portugal. There they found perilous toleration until 1496-97, when they were subjected to forcible conversion, so vigorously promoted that relatively few were able to take the exile's road again. In due time the Spanish decree was applied to the dependent territories, Sardinia, Sicily, and later Naples.²

Many of the expelled Jews, including the famous Isaac Abrabanel, who had sought unsuccessfully to obtain cancellation of the decree of 1492, found refuge in Naples.³ Soon, however, they had to go on to such places as Sicily, Corfu, Apulia, and Venice. Some had come via the Mediterranean route, others round about via Holland. Other Spanish Jews settled in Ferrara, where the Este family ruled according to the broader concepts of the Renaissance. Unfortunately, this territory was taken over by the Papal States in 1597, and the popes were no longer influenced by the spirit of the Renaissance. Many now left again for Mantua, Modena, and Venice.

In northern Europe the Netherlands served as a temporary refuge

² A recent intensive study of Judaism, *The Jews, Their History, Culture, and Religion*, edited by Louis Finkelstein has several useful chapters by various authors, hereafter referred to by name "in Finkelstein."

³ Max L. Margolis and Alexander Marx, *History of the Jewish People*, p. 501. This factual textbook, although not the most recent, is still one of the best.

for some of the exiles of 1492. During the period of Spanish control Holland could be only a short-term refuge. But this route did help many to find their way overland to Italy and other points. When the Dutch undertook to drive out their Spanish masters and obtain freedom, refugees (now Maranos) from Spain continued to arrive. Slowly, step by step, they were able to settle permanently in large centers, especially Amsterdam, and to worship openly as Jews.⁴ In the next century more Jewish exiles came to Holland from Germany, suffering through the Thirty Years' War. Thus two separate groups developed, the more or less favored and aristocratic Sephardim from Spain and the later, impecunious, and lower-class Ashkenazim from Germany. In Holland they remained quite distinct in their customs and social life. Two Jews of Spanish-Portuguese origin attained great fame in the seventeenth century in Holland: Baruch Spinoza (d. 1677), a radical philosopher who broke with Judaism, and Rabbi Menasseh ben Israel (d. 1657), who remained faithful and made a great effort to obtain free admission of Jews into England in the days of Cromwell. In the middle of the seventeenth century a group of Portuguese Jews arrived.

In western Europe the lot of Jews in Protestant lands did not differ greatly from that in Catholic territories. The Renaissance, whether in Catholic or Protestant context, tended to mitigate prejudice; in the earliest period the Reformation was inclined in the same direction. Johann Reuchlin, the study of Hebrew, and the Pfefferkorn incident that gave rise to the *Letters of Obscure Men* illustrate the common ground. But Luther's later reaction against the Jews is characteristic of the leadership in Reformed lands generally, whether Lutheran or Calvinist. Saxony and Brandenburg, among other states of the Empire, expelled their Jews.⁵ Other Protestant states which tolerated them imposed the same restrictions as did Catholic countries, including the ghetto or *Judengasse* and the badge.

England, of course, was a special case. There had been no Jews in the kingdom since the legal expulsion of 1290. A few Spanish Jews found their way across the Channel and sneaked into England, but they never came in openly, nor did they announce themselves after arrival. It is clear that Marlowe and Shakespeare had no real models for their Jewish caricatures. Shylock, who has become a very durable caricature, is a figment of pure imagination. This stands in contrast to the Jew in Lessing's *Nathan the Wise*, who was a literary delineation of Moses Mendelssohn. Nevertheless, in England several factors favored admission

⁴ Grayzel, p. 491.

⁵ Cecil Roth in Finkelstein, I, 241.

of Jews. The Reformation itself broke the tradition out of which the original expulsion had come. The increasing commercial competition with the Netherlands, which was obviously benefiting from Jewish enterprise, provided an economic motive. Then, in 1655, Menasseh ben Israel paid a formal visit to Cromwell and enlisted his support. A conference which was called to consider a revision of the policy on Jews failed to bring any change—except a judgment from jurists that no existing laws under the commonwealth stood in the way of admission of Jews.⁶ The net result was that Jews began quietly to move into England, and no one made an issue of their coming. They settled without scandal and presently began to worship cautiously. Eventually they were able to build synagogues and come into the open. The restoration of the Stuarts had no perceptible effect on this *de facto* situation.

Eastern Europe and western Asia at the turn from the fifteenth to the sixteenth century were coming more and more under the domination of the Ottoman Turks, the most recent of the long series of invaders of Europe from Asia. Their empire, which centered in Asia Minor—modern Turkey—already included Constantinople, the ancient capital of the once-great Byzantine Empire before the expulsion of the Spanish Jews in 1492. They also controlled the land of ancient Palestine and were spreading up the Danube Valley into central Europe during the time of the Reformation. Thus a broad stretch of territory completely outside the boundaries of Christendom existed along the eastern Mediterranean. To the Ottoman Turks, Christians of established churches were the enemy. Jews, on the other hand, constituted no military threat, gave promise of commercial and economic advantage, and enjoyed a certain traditional prestige as the followers of Moses. The Sultan Bajazet II therefore welcomed the Spanish exiles and allowed them to settle in Greece—especially in Saloniki—in Constantinople, and, so far as was practicable, in Palestine.⁷ They became neighbors of, but did not associate with, a smaller number of German Jews who had already found a home in Turkey. Some of these Spanish exiles came directly from Spain, but most arrived from a temporary refuge in various states of Italy. Refugees also came from Portugal. Soon Constantinople could boast the largest Jewish community in all Europe, with over thirty thousand people. Smaller Saloniki had almost as many, with the result that for a time there were more Jews than Greeks. A surprising number of individuals achieved a great name in public affairs. One of the finest

⁶ Grayzel, p. 497.

⁷ See Roth in Finkelstein, I, 244 ff.; Grayzel, pp. 426–68; Margolis and Marx, pp. 512 ff.

physicians was Amatus Lusitanus, a Salamanca-trained doctor who came from Portugal. Another physician, Solomon Ashkenazi, from Germany, arrived in Constantinople after living in Italy and Poland and became a trusted diplomat of the sultans. There were Talmud scholars like Jacob ibn Habib and financiers like João Miguez. As long as the Jews paid the not-exorbitant poll tax, they had considerably more freedom than they might hope for in any Christian country of Europe except, presently, Holland.

The most spectacular—and tragic—figure was Joseph Nasi, duke of Naxos and foreign minister to the sultan. From his exalted position of power he induced the Turks to permit a project for recolonization of Palestine. He obtained a charter for the development of the Tiberias region in Galilee, along the western shores of the Sea of Galilee. It did not succeed, and his influence declined.

As far as Jews were concerned, Palestine, ever since the Crusades, was an empty land. Very few Jews had managed to survive in the inhospitable land under hostile rulers. At the beginning of the sixteenth century only two centers harbored Jews—Jerusalem and Safed in Galilee. When refugees began to filter down from Ottoman lands to the north, Safed was most directly affected. Jerusalem might draw more for reasons of pilgrimage or “old times’ sake,” but Safed, on its impressive hilltop in northern Galilee, was more attractive and more accessible. Many Spanish Jews settled there and gave to it a peculiar Sephardic character.⁸ The town maintained a strong stone wall, and considerable commerce resulted from the influx of more enterprising people. One might draw a parallel here between the effect of Spanish Jewish refugees in Safed and that of Reformed refugees in sixteenth-century England. In both cases—and in many others that might be cited—the refugees, being those who had suffered for conscience’ sake and had not succumbed, brought new vigor, new ideas, and new enterprises into otherwise stodgy communities which had long since lost their vision. Naturally, such changes were not welcomed by the old residents, and hence the refugees were in many cases not welcomed. The miserable inhabitants of Safed before the arrival of the Sephardim were not overjoyed at the transformation. Eventually, of course, all benefited. Within a hundred years Safed, with its twenty-one synagogues and eighteen Talmudic centers, was an outstanding religious and intellectual center of Jewish life. Probably the most famous product was Joseph Karo (d. 1575), who had come to Turkey as a boy refugee in 1492. He prepared a great codified revision of the Talmudic law, a long-standing handbook. On the other hand

⁸ Itzhak Ben-Zvi in Finkelstein, I, 613–27.

Cabbala flourished in this land, which was so rich in messianic memory. Rabbi Isaac Luria Ashkenazi, native of Jerusalem, became the mentor of a cabbalistic circle of scholars. "The unique concentration of scholars, *yeshiva* teachers, and masters of the Law and Cabbala made Safed, after the Spanish expulsion, the most important Jewish center in the world."⁹ The end result of this mystical trend, when carried to more extreme lengths in the seventeenth century, was the meteoric rise—and fall—of Sabbatai Zevi, who by divine revelation learned that he was the Davidic messiah. A timely marriage with a girl who had prophesied she would marry the messiah was intended to fortify the new image. That image was soiled by certain misappropriations of funds and finally by the messiah's apostasy to Islam.

In the seventeenth century Safed declined both economically and spiritually. In 1656 it was destroyed by the Druses, a religiously fanatic and warlike people of Syria. Most of the people were forced to flee to other centers, chiefly Jerusalem.

Jerusalem remained a place of settlement for refugee Jews, but it never responded as successfully as Safed. Too many restrictions and too many traditions interfered with development of the community. Nevertheless, the Holy City continued to be a place of pilgrimage and thus retained the appearance if not the reality of a center of Judaism. Both Sephardic and Ashkenazic Jews, as well as Karaites, were settled there. Gradually the old capital gained on Safed as a Jewish center. But toward the end of the sixteenth century a decline set in under a series of persecutions. This was offset by the destruction of Safed, many of whose citizens came to Jerusalem. The sequence of decline and recovery continued into the eighteenth century. Needless to say, the Arabs, who inhabited the land to which Jewish refugees were coming, opposed as best they could the expansions of Jewish influence. This was not the first nor the last time this particular conflict of interest was made manifest.

Tiberias was a special case in Jewish refugee settlement, since its reconstruction was the project promoted by the eminent Duke Joseph Nasi, the sultan's foreign minister. Sometime before 1565 the work of restoration began, and invitations were sent out for Jews to settle there. Unfortunately, direct opposition by the Roman Catholics, who had a church at Tiberias, and by the neighboring Arabs, who feared Jewish expansion, combined with political and military disasters to frustrate the project from the beginning. Although Duke Joseph had a formal charter from Sultan Suleiman the Magnificent, which granted him Tiberias and seven nearby villages, he was unable to carry the project to com-

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 629.

pletion. A defensive wall was finished and the city partly rehabilitated. Some settlers came, and some stayed. But the place never became a flourishing center in fulfillment of Joseph's plans. He had too many other irons in the fire, and he suffered from political reverses that impaired his influence at court. The Tiberias Jewish community continued to exist for several generations, however, and ended only with the destruction of the town in 1660.

During the period under discussion, Jewish life, particularly in Europe, went through a thorough transformation. Outwardly, in many cases the change would not be apparent. Here is the nub: It is one thing to live together with your fellows by choice; it is quite another to live together by necessity. For centuries one of the definable privileges of the Jews was the right to live together in a special quarter rather than to be scattered over town. There were advantages in communication, in commerce, in education, and in worship, but especially in self-defense. The *Judenstrasse*, or more likely the *Judengasse* (alley), in Germany and the *seraglio delli hebrei* (in Rome, *septus hebraicus*) in Italy were of ancient derivation. The Jews lived together because they liked it that way and had earned the privilege.

Therefore the introduction of the *ghetto* marked a definite change in the relation of the Jews to the communities in which they lived. The one specific factor that made the ghetto a ghetto was compulsion. Jews *had* to live in the ghetto. They could live nowhere else, and, conversely, no Christian was permitted to live in the ghetto. The ghetto was a device for isolating Jews from their fellow citizens, a simpler and certainly more humane means than the only acceptable alternative—expulsion. Massacre was not yet an officially recognized method of solving the Jewish problem. Nor was religious freedom.

The origin of the ghetto is uncertain, as is the etymology of the word. Most historians have concluded that the name derives from the Jewish quarter in Venice, which from 1516 on was the New Foundry, the *Ghetto Nuovo*.¹⁰ The ghetto was applied in those regions which were inhabited by Ashkenazi Jews—central, southern, eastern Europe. Famous ghettos varied in detail, but they shared many characteristics. Usually they consisted of a tightly filled narrow street, with perhaps short side alleys. They were surrounded by a high wall pierced with gates which were guarded and closed each night. Crowding was inevitable, for boundaries of ghettos were rarely extended. The widespread establishment of the ghetto throughout Europe was largely the work of the papacy. In 1555 the diligent counterreformer Pope Paul IV published the bull *Cum nimis*

¹⁰ Roth in Finkelstein, I, 240.

absurdum, which in effect renewed and made universally valid all the medieval legislation against the Jews. Not only was the ghetto required, but the restrictions on business activity were extended to the point that only secondhand clothing dealers were permitted. Jews were forbidden to own real estate. The infamous badge of shame—the pointed hat or yellow patch—was revived. In Italy, and then all over Europe, including some Protestant countries, Jews were forced into their quarter, walled up in the ghetto. By the early seventeenth century the plan was firmly established in Italy.

Rome's ghetto was notorious. Not only was it cramped and decrepit, but the Jews there were compelled to attend—and listen to—regular preaching services supplied by the orders of friars. Every Saturday afternoon a third of the inhabitants were required to be in registered attendance in a designated church, on the edge of the ghetto. Usually the preacher sought to give a Christian interpretation of the section of the Torah read at the Jewish service. There may have been sincere converts, but the circumstances surrounding this proclamation of the Word—forced attendance, punishment for absence, contempt for Judaism—would generally work in the other direction. Fear and food, however, were two very effective means of getting hypocritical conversions. The church promised food and housing for converts who saw the light. Needless to say, the Jews of the ghetto paid for this food and housing through a special tax.¹¹

One of the most famous ghettos was that of Frankfurt am Main, the lively Rhenish entrepôt of trade. As early as 1460 the Jews were required to live in the *Judengasse*, which contained 190 houses sheltering 2,000 people. Later the same houses had 8,000 people. Economic pressure lay behind the violent mob action which in the early seventeenth century drove the Jews penniless from their quarter into the countryside. An ignorant but rabble-rousing baker named Fettmilch stirred up hatred against these competitors. Although the ringleaders were caught and executed by imperial troops, the Jews spent two years as beggars before they were able to return home. At least they could claim, as those in other ghettos could not, protection under the arms of the Holy Roman Emperor.

In Vienna the Jews struggled through a series of crises which began with their expulsion in 1421. Slowly they came back, encouraged by the emperor, who knew their economic worth. But in 1625 they were forced to move into the Leopoldstadt, which became the Vienna ghetto. Even so, there are depths beyond depths. The only other alternative

¹¹ Grayzel, p. 484.

was expulsion, which actually happened in 1670 when the city government and the church, abetted by the Spanish-born empress, secured the abolition of the ghetto and the consequent banishing of Vienna's Jews, most of whom fled eastward and northward. Some of these exiles moved north into Brandenburg, where they were received by the Great Elector Frederick William. Fifty families were admitted, but the immigration was carefully controlled and limited.

Prague had a very large Jewish population. For the most part ghetto life there was somewhat more stable than elsewhere in Jewish Europe. The city was controlled by the emperor himself, who was also king of Bohemia. This caused consternation once, when Ferdinand I in 1561 made an unexpected and unexplained vow to expel all Jews. Only by a direct appeal to the pope in Rome was the ruler released from the—in those days—dire obligations of his oath.

The ghetto in Venice was the freest of all because the Jews were allowed to engage in various forms of commerce and were not culturally isolated from their fellow citizens. Many books, among them the Bible, the Old Testament in Hebrew, rabbinic texts, and the Talmud were published there, some of them in printing houses owned by Christians.

Strictly speaking, the ghetto had less development in eastern Europe, where masses of Jews lived. Decentralization in government contributed to the varied pattern. There were always Jewish quarters, but not enforced residence in them. An expanded form of ghetto developed in Russia: the "Jewish Pale," meaning a group of provinces to which Jews were restricted and in which some large cities were excepted.

The ghetto is worth attention in a history of religious refugees if only because it is a sort of refugee movement in reverse—*into* instead of *out of*. The Jews of the ghetto were centripetal refugees instead of centrifugal ones. Both types were expelled from common society, but in the case of the ghetto the destination of the refugees was prescribed. Exiles at least had freedom to go where they would—or could—after they crossed the border. Usually, of course, they had little choice.

B. Ashkenazi Jews in Eastern Europe

The long process of redistribution of the Jews which started with the expulsions from Spain and Portugal had more or less stabilized by the time of the Thirty Years' War. The Jews suffered in that war in about the same measure as everyone else, except for sporadic and local anti-Jewish outbreaks. Catholics and Protestants were too busy at one

another's throats. Jews weren't exactly innocent bystanders; but the war was, after all, not fought over them.

The redistribution resulted in the following picture. Spain and Portugal, which had harbored many Jews until 1492, were empty lands. So also were England and France (except for the few Jews in papal Avignon). Secret Jews remained in mortal danger on the Iberian Peninsula; but they could discreetly survive in the other two countries. No professing Jews were allowed in Naples, Sardinia, Sicily, and a few other minor lands. Ghetto Jews were located in the other states of Italy, especially Ancona, Ferrara, Modena, Rome, Turin, and Venice. In the German states of the Holy Roman Empire the governments had varying regulations; but few permitted large Jewish settlements in major cities. Frankfurt, Hamburg, and Worms, however, were exceptions, with sizable Jewish sections. In Holland a relatively free Jewish community had established a high level of culture and status. There were almost no Jews in Scandinavia. Thousands had moved east into Bohemia and Poland. Prague had a big Jewish population. Poland-Lithuania, stretching over an immense area east and south, had the largest concentration of all. Most of the Sephardim were located in the Ottoman Empire and its dependencies, especially Saloniki and Constantinople, but actually scattered here and there throughout.

Because of the concatenation of political, military, and religious events around the year 1648, that year marks a turning point in the history of the Jews. On the one hand was the Peace of Westphalia, on the other the beginning of east European massacres. Holland was now independent *de jure*, and England was opening up under Cromwell's urging. Cabbalist speculation and messianic agitation were spreading in Turkish lands and round the eastern Mediterranean. A beginning was being made in Jewish settlement in the New World.¹² This section is concerned with the sudden changes of fortune, mostly for the worse, of the Jews of eastern Europe. Not that they had enjoyed universal peace hitherto! The denizens of the Prague ghetto, one of the more stable communities, had been expelled twice in the sixteenth century. But the persecution and violence which had been sporadically exhibited in the past were as nothing contrasted to the massive destruction visited on parts of sprawling Poland by Bogdan Chmielnitzky, leader of the unruly Cossacks of the broad Ukrainian plains. The uprising had multiple causes. The economic factor was important in the resentment of the serfs against their noble landlords and their Jewish overseers. The religious factor is seen especially in the rivalry in these border regions

¹² This summary is from Roth in Finkelstein, I, 250.

between Western and Eastern Catholicism. Whereas the Roman Catholic clergy tended to support the Catholic Polish nobles, the Orthodox church rejoiced in the conquests of Chmielnitzky. The Jews were involved in both these factors and constituted a third factor which invited reprisals by the Cossacks. The invasion from the Ukraine claimed to be a crusade against "the nobility, the clergy [Roman], and the Jews."¹³ Thus Orthodox Christianity became the religious standard against which both Judaism and Western Christianity were judged. Reformed and Lutheran Protestantism received no more favorable treatment.

Many of the Jews of Kiev, farther east, fled eastward for refuge with the Tartars, who welcomed them only in the relative sense that, instead of killing them, they were content merely to sell them all into slavery in Turkey. Some eventually were ransomed by Jewish friends in Constantinople, Hamburg, and the Netherlands.¹⁴ But most of the fugitives, fleeing in terror before the advancing troops of the brutal Cossacks, spread into central Europe.

The whole of Europe began to be overrun by Jewish refugees, whose number was constantly recruited with every further trough of depression or outburst of violence in the Slavonic lands. The tide of emigration has continued, with varying intensity, down to our own day; and it has resulted in a complete redistribution of the Jewish population throughout the world. It is for this reason perhaps the most important episode in the history of the Jews between the fifteenth century and the nineteenth.¹⁵ The Holy Roman Empire, more amorphous than ever since the Treaty of Westphalia, was able to absorb, after a fashion, these waves of eastern Jewish refugees. They appeared almost as strange to their westernized Jewish fellows as they did to the non-Jews. Linguistically, culturally, and socially—to some extent religiously—they were different. In the centers of Great and Little Poland, Volhynia, and Podolia, which felt the immediate weight of Cossack terror, the effect was catastrophic. Six thousand Jews who had taken refuge in Nemirov in Podolia were killed when the city fell. Ten thousand died at Polonnoe in Volhynia. It should be made clear that the Cossacks did not single out Jews only for their massacres. Thousands of others were killed also. Most Orthodox Christians, however, escaped. But even with these the wild Cossacks were not too finicky. Survivors and those who got out early fled westward or southward into Hungary, Moldavia, the Ottoman Empire, the German states, or finally, in the case of many, to Holland.

¹³ As quoted by Israel Halpern in Finkelstein, I, 313.

¹⁴ Margolis and Marx, pp. 551-52.

¹⁵ Roth in Finkelstein, I, 251.

When the Cossack rising subsided, the Russians brought more death. After the Russians came the Swedes, who introduced a Protestant element into an already fiery religious pot. Poles did not know which they hated more, the invading Lutherans or the "fifth-column" Jews. One considered estimate of the sacrifice of Jewish life between 1648 and 1658, a decade by no means covering all the violence of this troubled time, amounted to a total of 100,000 souls.¹⁶ It was a rugged period of training for the tragic partitions a hundred years later which would leave Poland dismembered among her neighbors.

Although this account is concerned principally with the Jews as refugees, it would not be proper to pass by these events without mention of at least two major effects on Jewish religion. For some Jews the year 1648 was a crucial one for an additional reason: That was the year set for the messianic appearance. It held for them the same significance that 1666 (an apocalyptic number—Rev. 13:18) did for some Christians. In 1648 in Smyrna a young man named Sabbatai Zevi stood in the synagogue before the Torah and said out loud the name of God. This was an abominable blasphemy to pious Jews, who from ancient times had used a traditional circumlocution, a title for God instead of his name. Use of the name meant presumption of knowledge of the divine being not given to sinful men. Sabbatai Zevi probably intended his act to indicate the appearance of a new messiah, but the elders of the synagogue judged otherwise, and he was excommunicated.¹⁷ Thereupon he began a wandering career as a sort of refugee prophet, a career that brought him presently to Cairo, as noted earlier. There he met and married the young woman who had prophesied she would marry the messiah. She had survived the death of both father and mother in the Chmielnitzky massacres. However, she testified that her dead father had rescued her from the nunnery to which she had been taken and had revealed to her that she would be the bride of the messiah. When this marriage was performed in Cairo, the small movement became a powerful force in almost all forms of Judaism. Not only did the new messiah have a fitting bride; he had also a rich patron in Cairo and even a prophet, ready to make straight the highway. Unfortunately, although many Christians were also entranced by the cosmic significance of dates, the Moslem sultan was not impressed. On Sabbatai Zevi's appearance at Constantinople with the news that when he confronted the sultan the latter would forthwith abdicate and accept him as the king of kings, he was arrested and thrown into prison. When a delayed confrontation did not result as planned, the would-be

¹⁶ Margolis and Marx, p. 556.

¹⁷ See Grayzel, pp. 512-17.

messiah gave up, took a minor position at court, and accepted Islam. But this disillusioning end of the messiah did not end the movement at all. Many followers were convinced that the real Sabbatai Zevi had been replaced by another human figure. Others explained that, as the time was not yet ripe, the messiah had gone "into exile" in Islam till the day dawned. Among the Polish Jews the messianic hope aroused by this movement was a tremendous force. In the eighteenth century one Jacob Frank announced that he was Sabbatai Zevi reincarnated. His program, however, which involved the conquest of sin by satiation with all sin, was too much for the people. He was rejected by the synagogues and in revenge turned Catholic. Later the Catholics exiled him from Poland.

This turbulent environment called forth the powerful movement which goes under the name of Hasidism. In Podolia, which had suffered perhaps more than any other area, arose a movement combining almost puritanical self-discipline with pietistic individualism. Impatient with formal codes, commentaries, and the legalism that plagued so much of Jewish religion, the Hasidim emphasized the personal aspects of faith and the way of salvation. The moving figure was Israel Baal Shem Tob, known as "BEShT" (d. 1760). Sometimes referred to as Israel of Moldavia, this powerful personality broke out like a sort of Ashkenazi John Wesley as he turned from pedantry and scholasticism and legalism to heartwarming faith in the power of prayer and God's ability to save.¹⁸

The significance of these movements for our story is to be seen in their relation to the pressures of persecution and exile. They found ready acceptance among harried people. Nowhere had life been disrupted more than in east central Europe. There extravagant Sabbatianism and soberer Hasidism flourished among a people whose hope of worldly happiness was worn thin and who yearned for a new day which seemed possible only through divine intervention. Closely parallel movements flourished among Christians, who produced many mystical and millennarian programs.

C. Jews in Modern Times

Enlightenment in the area of Jewish toleration was rather slow in coming. One reason is that the Jews were living in those parts of Europe least affected by the Enlightenment. Except for the Netherlands, few Jews lived in lands which were subject to the spirit of rationalism. The papacy

¹⁸ See Margolis and Marx, pp. 581-82; Grayzel, pp. 526 ff.; Abram L. Sachar, *History of the Jews*, pp. 264-66.

effectively thwarted changes in Italy. In Germany the Enlightenment took a rather academic course having little immediate effect on the attitudes of the people. Well into the eighteenth century, therefore, the traditional situation continued. In 1775, for example, Pope Pius VI in an *Editto sopra gli ebrai* summarized the medieval laws which the papacy had continued in force and added to them detailed regulations designed further to humiliate the Jews.¹⁹ They were forbidden to ride in carriages, to follow bodies to the cemetery, to sing Jewish dirges, and to erect tombstones. Although the papacy had rejected the rumors of ritual murder as totally unfounded, the rumors persisted with the inevitable consequences in riot and violence. Forced baptisms upon very slim pretext continued. Although the situation was worse in the Papal States than anywhere else, the latter eighteenth century was a bad time for Jews everywhere in Europe. In 1745 Empress Maria Theresa, the mother figure for the Austrian Empire, decreed expulsion of all Jews from Bohemia, even the great community in Prague. Only vigorous protests from other countries in western Europe secured an annulment of the order. But the Prague Jews had to suffer a year's exile, attended by all the dislocation and confusion, before they were permitted to return.

Yet this was the century of the Enlightenment. It was the century of Moses Mendelssohn, who provided Lessing with his model of the enlightened and pious Jew in *Nathan the Wise*.

FRIAR: Nathan! Nathan! You are a Christian! By God, you are a Christian! There never was a better Christian.

NATHAN: We are of one mind! For that which makes me, in your eyes, a Christian, makes you, in my eyes, a Jew! ²⁰

Gradually the idea that the Jew was, like other men, a human being entitled to the rights of all men gained support. This is exemplified in the *Toleranzpatent* (Edict of Toleration) issued by the Austrian Emperor Joseph II on 2 January 1782. This document, published in the center of Europe, reflects the widespread influence of the spirit of the Enlightenment even in the tradition-bound Roman Catholic empire.²¹ Although the Jews were not forthwith accorded equality, they were relieved of the more obnoxious burdens, such as the body tax or poll tax, the badge in any form of dress, and excessive restrictions on business activity. At the same time the classic statements on religious liberty produced by the Enlightenment were joined by particular studies regarding the place of Jews

¹⁹ Roth in Finkelstein, I, 259.

²⁰ Translated from Lessing's *Werke*, IV, 154.

²¹ See Margolis and Marx, p. 596; Roth in Finkelstein, I, 262.

in an enlightened world. In 1781 Wilhelm Dohm published *Über die bürgerliche Verbesserung der Juden in Deutschland* (*On the Civic Improvement of the Jews in Germany*). In 1789 Abbé Grégoire wrote *Sur la régénération physique, morale et politique des Juifs* (*On the Physical, Moral, and Political Revival of the Jews*). The spirit of Enlightenment found fulsome expression in the French Declaration of the Rights of Man, which attended the early French Revolution. Napoleon, in characteristically flamboyant fashion, even proceeded to the restoration of the Great Sanhedrin. (Of course he did not have only the welfare of the Jews in mind.) After his fall and the restoration of the legitimate powers at the Congress of Vienna, the situation of the Jews did not revert to the former status. The ghetto was reestablished only in parts of Italy, especially in the Papal States. Emancipation of the Jews there came only with the unification of Italy under the house of Savoy and the occupation of Rome in 1870.

Unfortunately, legal emancipation of the Jews gave rise to an insidious minority reaction in the form of modern anti-Semitism. This is best illustrated by the infamous Dreyfus case in France at the end of the nineteenth century. It took five years and the literary power of Émile Zola to right the miscarriage of justice based on prejudice against the Jews.

Meanwhile in eastern Europe affairs proceeded with relatively little interference from the forces of Enlightenment. The tragic story of Poland ran its course down to the three partitions of the last quarter of the eighteenth century, a sort of political vivisection. Approximately 800,000 Jews were distributed among the three beneficiaries, Prussia, Austria, and Russia. Many Jews fled, some to south Russia, others from Galicia to Hungary, still others from the Prussian part to the northern provinces.²² All three of the powers which connived in the partition of Poland tried to prevent movement of Jews out of their former Polish regions into other parts of their lands. Austria inherited from 150,000 to 200,000 Jews in Galicia, which she took. Russia received the largest number, the Jews in the extensive area of Russian Poland. There were one and a half million there before World War I.

This situation led to the strengthening of the institution of the Pale, which was, in effect, a sort of regional ghetto. Jews were forbidden to settle anywhere in Russia outside of certain designated provinces—in general, those where they had resided for a long time. Fifteen districts were designated in western and southern Russia, including the new regions of Poland, as suitable for Jewish residence. Within this Pale

²² Bernard D. Weinryb in Finkelstein, I, 325.

certain cities were excluded—no Jew could live in them. In other cities Jews were again restricted to a quarter or ghetto.²³ In this way the status quo was strictly preserved. Jews in eastern Europe found it very difficult to move from one place to another. Mobility as a safety valve was stifled.

Nowhere was this more true than in Russia. Throughout the nineteenth century, in spite of a few moves toward liberalization, the situation of the Jews remained stagnant. In December 1804 Tsar Alexander I issued a fundamental decree on the Jews. For the first time their juridical status and rights were defined. The area open to settlement was somewhat expanded. On the other hand, they were evacuated from rural areas of the older provinces, so that more concentration was the actual result. The militaristic Nicholas I ordered the draft of Jews into the army, where they were subjected not only to the regular military training but to pressures directed at conversion. Especially reprehensible was the drafting—kidnapping is a better term—of very young boys. Although eighteen was the draft age, many were taken at twelve for “preparation.” Alexander Herzen reported an episode he saw in a little village in the province of Vyatka:

Pale, worn out, with frightened faces, they stood in thick, clumsy soldiers' overcoats, with stand-up collars, fixing helpless, pitiful eyes on the garrison soldiers, who were roughly getting them into ranks. The white lips, the blue rings under the eyes looked like fever or chill. And these sick children, without care or kindness, exposed to the icy wind that blows straight from the Arctic Ocean, were going to their graves. . . . Boys of twelve or thirteen might somehow have survived, but little fellows of eight or ten. . . . No painting could reproduce the horror of that scene.²⁴

Full advantage was taken of the opportunity to force these children to conversion when thus separated from their parents and home communities. The same treatment, incidentally, was meted out to the heretical Dukhobors and Molokani. This system continued until Alexander II stopped it. Nicholas also evicted all Jews from the frontier regions to prevent alleged smuggling.

The reign of Alexander II offered a respite from persecution. But his assassination in 1881 brought a severe reaction, engineered by the rigid Constantine Pobedonostzev, procurator of the Holy Synod. A series of pogroms broke out, beginning 27 April 1881 in Elizavetgrad. In large

²³ A sociologically oriented study of the ghetto is Louis Wirth, *The Ghetto* (University of Chicago Press, 1928).

²⁴ Quoted in Salo W. Baron, *Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets*, pp. 36–37; from Herzen's *Byloye i dumy* (*Reminiscences and Meditations*), tr. by Constance Garnett as *My Past and My Thoughts*.

cities like Kiev and Berdichev and in smaller communities the story was the same—uncontrolled mob violence feeding on anti-Semitic prejudice. Frequently police and soldiers joined the mobs, as in Warsaw on Christmas Day 1881. Once more fear and hatred reigned. Restrictions were imposed again and again, culminating in the expulsion of about half of the Jews from Moscow in 1891.²⁵ More and more Jews sought to escape from Russia, and a mass migration resulted. The authorities did not impede their departure. Via Galicia and other border regions they reached Hamburg or Liverpool, then tried to find passage to the New World. Pobedonostzev was well content to see the end of these Jews. He is reported to have said that the solution of the Jewish problem would be the emigration of a third, the conversion of another third, and the death of the remainder.

The early years of the twentieth century saw no diminution in the anti-Jewish pressure. Pogroms of major proportions took place in 1903 and 1905. Kishinev was the scene in 1903, when mobs drawn from the 60,000 Christians attacked 50,000 Jews. Hundreds of cities and towns had pogroms in 1905. Many of the 165,000 Jews of Odessa were killed, and 40,000 were economically ruined. It has been estimated that 1,000 were killed altogether and 7,000 to 8,000 wounded in these various pogroms.

Hence it is little wonder that Jews in large numbers wanted to leave Russia. An unending stream of refugees poured across the borders. Over 70 percent eventually arrived in the United States. The others settled in Canada, South Africa, and other parts of the British Empire, as well as a few in Argentina. The account of this immigration into the United States and Canada belongs in another chapter, as part of the theme expressed so poignantly by Emma Lazarus on the Statue of Liberty: "Send me your tired, your poor, . . ." For Russia it meant the loss of a large number of Jewish citizens who had become an almost intolerable fester in the body public. That the source of the ailment was not with the Jews but with their persecutors did not occur to the authorities. The tide of emigration began in the 1840's and continued to rise during the rest of the century. It reached a high point in the first decade of the twentieth century and remained high until World War I. No one knew it, of course, but the stage was being set for an even more horrible visitation upon the Jews of Europe as from the dregs left by the first war arose the forces that would lead to the second.

²⁵ Baron, p. 58, suggests that most were expelled; cf. Weinryb in Finkelstein, I, 343.

Chapter 20

The Huguenots of the Dispersion

*Il ne faut donc pas s'attendre de joüir
d'un entier repos; l'esglise sera toujours
persecutée sur la terre, & elle ne sera
exempte des afflictions, que lorsqu'elle
sera recueillie là haut au ciel.**

G. and J. Daval, *Histoire
de la reforme à Dieppe*
(written mid-17th century)

*I*n 1958 I stood on an empty rocky shore a few miles outside La Rochelle, on the Bay of Biscay, and looked out over the sea toward the west. Since history is very real and palpable in this ancient seaport, imagination easily provided the setting for one of the most dramatic episodes of one of the most significant exoduses of modern times—the flight of the French Huguenots from the persistent efforts of King Louis XIV to suppress “*la religion prétendue réformée*” (R.P.R.), the “pretended Reformed religion” which constituted an intolerable affront to the esteemed unity of faith and authority in the classic absolute monarchy forged of war and the political genius of Cardinal Richelieu. I also visited the Rhône gorge a little below Geneva and the Pays de Gex to the north, whence other refugees, from eastern and southern France, found their way into Switzerland. These victims of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 and the following decades have been among the most celebrated exiles the world has known.

* “It is not possible to expect to enjoy complete repose; the church will always be persecuted on earth, and it will not be free from affliction till it is received in heaven.”

A. From Nantes to Fontainebleau, 1598-1685

An immense literature has arisen about the "Huguenots" and their descendants. Books continue to appear: Some are popular stories which fondly revive the exciting episodes so frequently narrated. Others ransack archives in scholarly dissertations. Both older and more recent publications may be divided into four types: (1) the massive *magna opera*, like the works of Erman and Reclam, Henry M. Baird, and Charles Weiss, which attempt detailed overall coverage; (2) special monographs on particular areas or topics; (3) genealogical works like the classic ten volumes of Eugène and Émile Haag and many of the publications of the Huguenot Society of London, the Société de l'Histoire du Protestantisme Français, and the Deutscher Hugenotten Verein; and (4) popular stories and romances.

Naturally differences of opinion are found on many disputed points. No one has been able to demonstrate conclusively just how many refugees were involved. Protestant historians give a different interpretation from that of Roman Catholic writers. Weiss, Félice, Viénot all strive to make martyrs of their heroes. Catholic historians, on the other hand, like the Abbé Rouquette, have tried to minimize the violence and justify the persecutions on grounds of public order, patriotism, or concern for truth.¹ The older standard work by Charles Weiss, *Histoire des réfugiés protestants de France depuis la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes jusqu'à nos jours*,² is still the best one-volume survey but stands in need of revision and reinterpretation.³ Writers here as elsewhere have tended to exaggerate the influence of refugees, sometimes overlooking other correlative influences.

In the early seventeenth century, under protection of the Edict of Nantes, French Protestants were strongly established in several different parts of the country. They were plentiful in Normandy and Poitou in the north and west. Ever since the Reformation they had lived in large numbers in Béarn, Guienne, lower Languedoc, the Vivarais and the Cévennes, covering most of southern France. They had, by formal right, forty-eight hostage cities, most of them located around Bordeaux, Montpellier, and Poitiers. They controlled five important "royal free cities"—La Rochelle, Montauban, Ste-Foy, Nîmes, and Uzès. In addition, about seventy-five to eighty "*places particulières*" were identified, most of them

¹ Cf. Erich Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge*, p. 22. Rouquette's work was *Études sur la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes* (1908).

² English translation as *History of the French Protestant Refugees*.

³ See discussion by Warren C. Scoville, *The Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development*, pp. 25-26, 436-44.

estates of Protestant nobles. They enjoyed the protection of a 50,000-man army of their own, as well as a navy larger than that of the king of France. Some of the leaders were highly placed noblemen like Philippe de Mornay, Seigneur du Plessis-Marly, who served as royal governor in Saumur, the important Huguenot educational center along the Loire, and lived for many years in its stately castle. Spiritual and political successors of the great Admiral Coligny continued to serve the interests of the Huguenots down to the time of the revocation, in spite of the most strenuous efforts to eradicate Protestant heresy from the ranks of the aristocrats. Some important cities, such as La Rochelle, Nîmes, Castres, and Montauban, continued to support large Protestant majorities past the middle of the century.

Sometimes the Edicts of Nantes and Fontainebleau are set over against each other in stark contrast. Such a view does not reflect the true relationship. The first statute was indeed intended to protect the rights of Protestants when the monarch, their erstwhile leader, turned Catholic for reasons of state. One is immediately impressed by the extent of special political and military privileges guaranteed. But in sober fact, the net effect of this edict was the prevention of further spread of Protestantism and the inevitability of ultimate stagnation and decline. Existing structures were protected, but growth, change, and expansion were discouraged. Even the much-vaunted rights, while observed in the letter, were infringed in details of administration. For example, while Protestants could not by law be excluded from the professions, the number admitted could be narrowly restricted.⁴ On the other hand, the edict of revocation did not abrogate freedom of religion and worship as such. King Louis XIV had been convinced, by his own persistent wishful thinking as well as by some of his advisers and Mme de Maintenon, that the incidence of Protestant heresy had been reduced to a negligible point which need no longer be taken into consideration except in specific residual cases. The policy of the Bourbon government from Richelieu on was inexorably directed toward the gradual obliteration of Protestantism from the land. The revocation was intended only as a capstone to a *fait accompli*.

Thus even in the early years of Louis XIII measures began to be taken against this or that Huguenot privilege, although repeatedly the Edict of Nantes was reconfirmed formally. It was one of the important services of Cardinal Richelieu to the incipient absolute monarchy of the Bourbons that he succeeded in reducing the Huguenots to virtual political and military impotence. Beginning shortly after the announcement of the

⁴ Cf. Arie Th. van Deursen, *Professions et métiers interdits*, p. 346; and Rudolf Uzler, *Schaffhausen und die französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge*, p. 21.

majority of the king (1614), a series of regulations hedged in any possible growth in Protestant influence. Roman Catholicism was reestablished in Béarn under royal patronage.⁵ Duplessis-Mornay was deprived of his governorship of Saumur. A series of desultory conflicts not worthy of their designation as "Huguenot wars" in the 1620's culminated in the reduction of La Rochelle, a key Huguenot fortified city, in 1628.

La Rochelle was for the French Protestants at once a strong fortress and an open door to the outside world. This quaint little port has not changed much since the days of its power as a Huguenot center and the days of its defeat at the hands of Cardinal Richelieu. The great walls are gone—only massive indestructible remnants of towers remain—but the two towers still standing on opposite sides of the ridiculously narrow entrance to the ridiculously tiny harbor are gaunt reminders of the Huguenot power which existed as an independent autonomous force in the very heart of the French nation. The story has often been told of its investment by the royal forces commanded by Richelieu himself, of the halfhearted and ineffective attempts of the British to relieve the defenders by sea, and of the bitter, long-extended siege which finally brought the starved defenders to their knees. The ill-fated expedition of the duke of Buckingham forced Richelieu's hand in an undertaking he had contemplated for a long time. The capture of La Rochelle would be the symbol of the end of Huguenot power in a nation being brought under the absolute control of yet another line of divinely authorized rulers. As it turned out, the citizens of La Rochelle were left to defend themselves against an enemy force twenty times larger than anything they could muster. The Catholic clergy tried, not very successfully, to make the operation look like a holy crusade. When direct attack failed to breach the walls, Richelieu settled down to patient siege. All of the noble leaders except the stubborn, aged duchess of Rohan had already left, and Mayor Jean Guiton stood forth as unwilling hero. Of 28,000 original inhabitants, one-half died before the end, which came on 29 October 1628. With a calculated combination of severity and compassion Richelieu exiled Guiton and other leaders, confiscated the Protestant temple for conversion to a Catholic church, and permitted only private Protestant worship.

About the same time the remaining Protestant strong places, including Montauban, submitted to the royal power. The Treaty of Alais, 28 June 1629, ended overt Huguenot resistance and set the basis for the Edict of Grace of Nîmes, which continued Protestant rights of worship without

⁵ Henry M. Baird in his exhaustive *Huguenots and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes*, I, 138 ff., discusses these legislative moves in detail.

the political and military rights formerly enjoyed. The security of religious toleration henceforth resided in the "grace" of the king, not simply in law.⁶

The change of situation is illustrated by the fate of Montauban as well as La Rochelle. This important city of the Midi had been a strong Protestant center from the beginning of the Reformation. The Catholic population was almost negligible. Between ten thousand and fourteen thousand people lived there, almost all of them committed Protestants.⁷ Protestant control continued after submission to Richelieu in 1628, but the royal government encroached increasingly on the local government. The Protestant church and school continued past the middle of the seventeenth century. But in 1664-65 the great Temple-neuf, built in 1615, was destroyed by royal order.⁸ The end of this impressive octagonal structure also foreshadowed the progressive strangulation of Protestantism.

After 1629, however, a deceptive appearance of peace and prosperity continued down past the middle of the century. Baird calls these the "halcyon days of French Protestantism."⁹ Support grew until there were some 862 churches, almost as many ministers, and a large increase in members. Under Cardinal Mazarin the Edict of Nantes was once again formally reconfirmed.

This peace did not last. After 1661, when Louis XIV took increasing control of the government, restriction of freedom of worship proceeded on many fronts. In general, specific regulations only nibbled at the structure of freedom supposedly guaranteed by the Edict of Nantes. The right of nobles to patronize Protestant temples and chapels was restricted. As the intendants increased central royal control in the provinces, Protestants found their local rights abridged. A multitude of local and regional ordinances cut down rights here and there. A regular program of closing and razing churches got under way, using one pretext or another. In 1663, 140 churches were closed or destroyed; the next year 18, the next 41, the next 16.¹⁰ Some of the ministers continued preaching in the ruins or in the open fields. The Protestant schools, which had played a crucial role in preserving the heritage, were gradually restricted and taken over by small steps dealing with qualifications of teachers, pro-

⁶ Cf. Robert Garrisson, *Essai sur l'histoire du protestantisme dans la Généralité de Montauban*, p. xx.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 42, 53.

⁸ Robert Garrisson, "Images et visages du vieux Montauban huguenot, 1559-1659," *SHPF Bul.*, CVI (1960), 69-86, p. 80. Also Garrisson, *Essai*, p. 67.

⁹ Baird, I, 368.

¹⁰ Theodor F. Schott, *Die Aufhebung des Ediktes von Nantes im Oktober 1685*, p. 42.

gram of study, supply of teachers, and so forth.¹¹ In every case the law was bent to the disadvantage of the Protestants, as the government's policy became one of "*application à la rigueur*." At the same time the right of worship was abridged along with the right of a place of worship.¹² Small irritations like the affirmation of the right of Catholic priests to visit sick Protestants (small, that is, until it happened in individual cases) further added to the pressures, which were being openly described as a campaign to secure conversions. More serious was the affirmed right of priests to obtain conversions from Protestant children, at first from age fourteen for boys and twelve for girls, later lowered to seven!¹³ A most controversial program was the *Caisse des Conversions*, established in 1676 to encourage conversions with financial aid. Pierre Jurieu, an illustrious refugee in the Netherlands, commented ironically that "nothing is more similar to the conduct of the Apostles, who went from place to place dispensing the riches of grace and condemning the riches of nature, than the charity of these gentlemen, who everywhere dispense the riches of nature to draw men to grace."¹⁴

Economic pressures, both negative and positive, were among the chief means used to constrict Protestantism in the years before the revocation. Not only were what amounted to bribes offered for conversions, but various restrictions were placed on business and commercial activity. More and more the trades were restricted, professions were closed, and manufacturing was forbidden.¹⁵ Detailed programs were worked out for pressuring Protestants into abandonment of their religious heritage. In 1679 Daguesseau, intendant of Languedoc, made a full report on means to be used for conversion of Protestants, both pastors and people.¹⁶ Another document, of 1676, by Intendant Nicholas-Joseph Foucault, is similar in plan and intent; it carried the title "*Advis donné à Sa Majesté par le sieur Foucault . . . sur la proposition d'exclure des habitants faisant profession de la R.P.R. [religion prétendue réformée] des charges politiques de la ville de Montauban*." If Protestants could be excluded from the town council, then the Catholic councillors would be free to proceed to further restrictions.

Although a flurry of conversions followed the work of the *Caisse des Conversions*, the results were disappointing. Before 1681 no large number

¹¹ See Deursen, pp. 39 ff.

¹² P. Gachon, *Quelques préliminaires de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes en Languedoc (1661-1685)*, pp. 84 ff., 102 ff.

¹³ Schott, p. 74.

¹⁴ Quoted in Baird, I, 476.

¹⁵ See above all Deursen, *passim*; also Scoville, pp. 47 ff.

¹⁶ Garrisson, *Essai*, p. 119; cf. text in appendix of Gachon.

of conversions was achieved, nor were many Protestants motivated to leave the country.¹⁷ Impatient with these indecisive moves, Louis XIV agreed to a new policy which had been subject to experimentation—the quartering of troops on selected subjects in their own homes. The infamous *dragonnades* began in 1681 and led directly to the revocation of the Edict of Nantes a few years later.

Down to the time of the *dragonnades* small but noteworthy waves of refugees left France, beginning in 1661. La Rochelle was the scene in that and the following year for the departure of three hundred families.¹⁸ More considerable was the emigration of the mid-sixties, when a new series of laws frightened many Huguenots. Individuals escaped from time to time, as, for example, Élie Saurin, who left Embrun under pressure because he refused, while leading a funeral procession, to doff his hat as a priest passed by with the sacrament on his way to visit a sick person.¹⁹ Henry Savile, the English ambassador in Paris, used his offices to aid and encourage migration to England, promoting this project in spite of the studied lack of enthusiasm on the part of his superior on the English throne. With the increase in pressure and the institution of the *dragonnades*, Charles was at last moved to support projects for transportation of refugees and their reception and help in settlement in England.

"Those poor people," wrote the ambassador, "are in such fear that they hurry their children out of France in shoals, not doubting but this edict will soon be followed by another to forbid their sending them out of the kingdom. I will confidently aver that had a bill of naturalization passed in England last winter, there had been at least fifty thousand souls passed over by this time."²⁰

During this period before the revocation complex movements of refugees took place also in Alsace.²¹ Ever since the sixteenth century there had been tension between the Lutheran authorities and the French Reformed refugees. The latter were discriminated against with petty encroachments. Thus, in 1654, the refugees received from the count of Hanau the right to build a temple in Wolfisheim, near the Strasbourg gates. There they developed a church organization, but small difficulties continued, such as a regulation that forbade them to use carriages in going to church. In another community, Bischwiller, refugees had come directly from France

¹⁷ Jean Orcibal, *Louis XIV et les protestants*, pp. 66-67.

¹⁸ Louis Delmas, *L'église réformée de La Rochelle* (Toulouse, 1870); English translation as *The Huguenots of La Rochelle* (citations from the French), p. 220.

¹⁹ Haase, p. 103.

²⁰ Baird, I, 512, quoting *Savile Correspondence*, p. 201.

²¹ Henri Strohl, *Le protestantisme en Alsace*, pp. 124-27.

as early as 1617–21. Here, under a more liberal charter, they were able to develop a flourishing economy and to worship according to the Helvetic Confession of 1566. Although the place was pillaged and destroyed during the Thirty Years' War, it was subsequently rebuilt. After the middle of the century more refugees came, and Lutheran added to Reformed. Finally, when Alsace was grabbed by Louis XIV in 1681, Roman Catholicism was established and Reformed (and Lutheran) worship was proscribed—officially on 20 October 1681, Louis XIV himself being present.

The real pressure, however, and the final flood of refugees began after the imposition of the *dragonnades*, the quartering of rough troops on the common people. This was accomplished with finesse as the soldiers were placed in the homes only of those who resisted the pressure for conversion. The king wanted no violence. But carousing soldiers could disrupt a household with noise at all hours and with all the petty irritations which outsiders are able to inflict on a family. The *dragonnades* were the culmination of a campaign of studied persecution which began in earnest in 1681 and led directly to the revocation four years later.

One of the key moves in the new campaign was the royal edict of 17 June 1681, which provided for the "voluntary" conversion of Protestant children as young as seven years. Revoking the regulation of 1669, which had forbidden conversion of children until the ages of fourteen for boys and twelve for girls, the king went on to announce that henceforth

We have stated and declared, we now state and declare by these presents signed by our hand, we desire and are pleased, that our said subjects of the R.P.R., males as well as females, having reached the age of seven years, are able, and it becomes lawful for them, to embrace the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Religion; and, that they be thus received, to abjure the R.P.R. without any interference on the part of their fathers and mothers or parents under any pretext whatsoever.²²

The same edict went on to explain that converted children might then return home or (more likely) be cared for in Catholic institutions, the parents paying for their support. Moreover, no children might be sent out of the country, and any already gone should be recalled. Edict followed edict. In May 1682, seamen and artisans were forbidden to leave the realm under pain of the galleys for life.²³ More regulations ordered more closings of churches and forbade entry into more professions. A special declaration of 22 May 1683 required Protestant temples to provide a reserved pew for Catholic disputants. The reasons given were

²² *Édits, déclarations et arrêts concernant la Religion P. Réformée 1662–1751*, p. 89.

²³ *Ibid.*, pp. 112–13.

that ministers had put difficulties in the way of Catholics who wished to attend Protestant services, that the presence of controversialists who could refute Protestant errors would be edifying, and that thereby no insult to the Catholic religion could pass unchallenged. Therefore, all temples should be provided with "*un lieu marqué*" in which Catholics, "moved by a zeal for the welfare and growth of that religion," might attend the services.²⁴

That year, 1683, witnessed about the only incident of overt resistance on the part of the Protestants. It took the form of a demonstration, not a rebellion. Secretly, six representatives of the churches of lower Languedoc, together with others from the churches of Dauphiné, Vivarais, and the Cévennes, met in Toulouse and succeeded in making plans for a concerted demonstration, set for Sunday, 27 June 1683. On that day all Protestant members of churches that had been closed or destroyed should assemble openly for worship, at the same time sending to the king their protestation of their faith and loyalty.²⁵ Unfortunately, some royalists and some timid consistories discouraged the movement, which did not develop fully, as had been hoped. Persecution increased, and some of the ministers were constrained to flee, most of them to Geneva. In this year also took place the destruction of the Temple-vieux in Montauban, thus completing the ruination of Protestant churches there which began with the razing of the Temple-neuf.²⁶ The unwillingness of Protestants to resort to arms is illustrated by the reaction to the appeal of a dissident group in the Cévennes for aid in their revolt. Only two Protestants of Montauban expressed any favor for this violent form of opposition to the authority of the king. It seems the undercurrent of right of revolution came to the surface of Calvinistic policy only with greatest difficulty.

Meantime the program of *dragonnades* was developing apace. This weapon against civil disobedience had been used effectively against a Breton revolt in 1675.²⁷ Marillac, intendant of Poitou, tried quartering troops on the Huguenots in the province in 1681, but he made the mistake of going too far too fast on his own authority and was relieved of his position. Nevertheless, the lesson learned from the fact that he had obtained 38,000 converts in one year was not lost, even though the king professed to yearn for the peaceful conversion of his subjects.

The year 1685 witnessed a huge series of punitive laws and edicts, some mere irritants like the edict of 22 January, which forbade Protestants

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 138.

²⁵ Baird, I, 532-35.

²⁶ Garrisson, *Essai*, pp. 185 f., 210-11.

²⁷ Orcibal, p. 69.

to serve as apothecaries or grocers, others deeply injurious like the reaffirmation on 30 April of the prohibition against holding services of worship on the sites of the destroyed chapels.²⁸ That spring Foucault, intendant in Béarn, laid plans for converting the 22,000 Protestants of that region and presented to the king a detailed program. It would begin with the closing of all "unnecessary" churches, leaving only five, which number was judged sufficient. The five were carefully chosen in order that they might be closed on other pretexts.²⁹ This being accomplished, the next step was the *dragonnades*. Carefully avoiding overt violence, Foucault quartered the tough dragoons, professional fighters all, on almost helpless householders. A half-dozen of them could make life miserable without touching a soul—by drinking and partying all night long, smashing furniture, slamming doors, and invading bedrooms, using coarse obscenities and indecent exposure before little girls, suggestions and threats to women, indignities to the men—none of this would offend his majesty's disapproval of violence. By midsummer Foucault was pleased to report that only a thousand Protestants were left in his department.

By the end of July a general order went out for quartering troops all over the Midi. Province by province the stamp of heavy boots crushed the will to resist, and thousands in desperation professed "conversion" to earn exemption from the *dragonnades*. Guienne, Dauphiné, Poitou, Languedoc, Cévennes, Provence, at last the north—all succumbed to the threat or presence of "friendly" troops. Jean Claude's famous *Plaintes des protestants cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France*³⁰ eloquently described the sufferings occasioned by these quarterings combined with the whole package of oppressive legislation. As early as 1681 many people had fled to La Rochelle from Poitou as the experimental visitation of dragoons proved successful. Over a hundred came at one time with the intention of sailing to England or Holland, but they were imprisoned in the two gaunt towers still standing over the harbor.³¹ Although they were later released, La Rochelle was no longer a haven of refuge. The result was the same in Montauban, where conversions multiplied fast after the dragoons came. During the week of 22–28 August seventeen thousand professed conversion, about half from the city itself and the rest from the environs.³² It may be that these figures were in-

²⁸ *Édits, déclarations et arrêts*, pp. 182, 190–92.

²⁹ Foucault, *Mémoires* (ed. F. Baudry), pp. 112–13, as quoted in Baird, I, 551. A. Cadier, "Les églises réformée du Béarn de 1664 à 1685," *SHPF Bul.*, XXX (1881).

³⁰ Cologne, 1686, 1713.

³¹ Delmas, pp. 242–44.

³² Garrisson, *Essai*, p. 239.

flated to impress superiors, and one must remember that the conversions were all obtained under duress. Nevertheless, they testify to the effectiveness of using the army of one's own country for direction of public opinion.

It was the last straw. The Huguenots had been suffering under greater or lesser oppression for decades. Only two choices were left: submission and exile. Many submitted to "conversion." Many others took the road to foreign lands. Some fled before they were pressed into a Catholic profession; others, after making a formal submission, which they abjured when they reached freedom. Altogether perhaps fifteen to twenty thousand refugees left Montauban and its environs alone before and during the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.³³ Way down in the south in the old county of Foix, close under the Pyrenees, lay the little hamlet of Le Mas d'Azil, somewhat northwest of medieval Montségur, the stronghold of the Albigenses. There flourished a "little Geneva," which served also as a bastion of French culture in a sea of Iberian influence. In their remote homeland these Protestants, mostly common people close to the land, resisted vigorously all attempts to convert them to Romanism. But the pressures of 1685 proved too much. In June the whole community abjured the Calvinistic heresy *en masse*, even before the Edict of Nantes was revoked.³⁴ After the revocation, however, they reacted and continued strong resistance. Some of the people of the little town fled to hiding places in the surrounding mountains while others took the long road to foreign exile. Many of these settled in Switzerland in the Pays de Vaud. The little knot of professing Protestants survived the persecutions of the early eighteenth century and maintained an outpost of the Church of the Desert.

The four years before the revocation saw strong movements of French Protestants into exile. Already the effects were obvious in abandoned houses and declining industry. The records of the church of La Rochelle are full of notes about refugees and places of refuge.³⁵ All the lands later famous for their welcome to the refugees of the revocation already had had plenty of practice dealing with stiff-necked Calvinists from France. Amsterdam quickly offered free entry into the city and into the lively trade and commerce. A Plymouth paper reported as of 6 September 1681, "An open boat arrived here yesterday, in which were forty or fifty French Protestants who resided outside La Rochelle. Four others left with this boat, one of which is said to have put into Dartmouth, but it

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 243.

³⁴ Alice Wemyss, *Les protestants du Mas d'Azil*, pp. 80-81.

³⁵ See Delmas, *passim*, based on archival records.

is not yet known what became of the other three.”³⁶ This was the kind of exodus which led Louis to forbid movement of seamen and workers.

Thus the stage was set for one of the most dramatic acts of the great Sun King as he surveyed his creation and found it good—no more Protestants left, all presumably faithful Catholics. The need for the generous concession of Henry IV having passed, Louis cleaned his legislative house by revoking the Edict of Nantes.

B. The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes

1. *The Act of Revocation.* The real meaning of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes must be found in the larger perspective of absolutism as expressed in the reign of Louis XIV. The achievement of religious unity was from the beginning an integral part of the “grand design” of the Bourbon dynasty. There was no place in France for the religious fragmentation which resulted from the wars of religion in the Holy Roman Empire and the treaties (Augsburg and Westphalia particularly). Nor was there a place for the diversity-in-unity which characterized the Elizabethan Settlement in England. One loyalty in absolutist terms included one faith, which in the land of Richelieu and Bossuet could mean only one thing—Catholic, apostolic, and Roman.

Another point of more general significance is the relation of Louis XIV's design for religious unity to his Gallicanism. Obtaining the unequivocal victory of Catholicism in his realm would constitute at the very least a strong argument that he was quite capable of caring for the interests of the church without guidance or interference from the pope. In view of these larger matters the act of revocation itself was but another pragmatic means of achieving a much broader goal. It may be said that religious unity was a part of the grand design from the beginning. But the act of revocation arose almost opportunistically as a result of the long series of moves which reduced Protestantism to an almost negligible political and military factor. It had of course been proposed many times, especially by prelates. But serious consideration came only with the crescendo of action in the 1680's.³⁷ This is not to say that the king was given to ill-considered, impulsive actions, especially actions determined by the influence of his new consort, Mme de Maintenon. Baird is impressed by

³⁶ David C. A. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, I, 29.

³⁷ Cf. discussion in Haase, pp. 95-96; Orcibal, pp. 94, 99, 110; and Adolphe Michel, “Louvois et la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes,” *SHPFBul.*, XVII (1868).

the fact that the revocation followed by only two years the king's marriage to that enterprising lady.³⁸ No such motivation is needed, however, to explain Louis's attachment to the medieval view that religious unity is necessary for national unity. And no clear-cut evidence is extant to prove a direct influence. On the contrary, there is much evidence of the conflict of interest between the queen and the minister of war, Louvois.

However that may be, from his palace at Fontainebleau the Sun King issued, under the date 18 October 1685, an edict for the formal annulment of the Edict of Nantes and subsequent acts of toleration.³⁹ In the rather extended preamble an account was given of the occasion for the original edict now to be revoked and of the subsequent attempts by law to find a means of bringing the R.P.R. within the structure of the French nation. These efforts were disrupted by changes of ruler and did not produce the good effects sought. They brought not peace and tranquillity but confusion. Since, however, the greater part of the Protestants had by now professed the Catholic religion, it was thought best to wipe out all the former confusing legislation and recognize in law the fact of religious unity. The phrase was "*la meilleure et la plus grande partie de nos sujets.*" Not all, but most, had accepted Roman Catholicism. The remainder should be left free in the private exercise of their faith until they saw the light—a provision remarkably similar to the attitude of the Edict of Nantes.

Not all articulate Catholics were happy about the reasoning and the circumstances of the act of revocation. Many sensitive authorities connived in one compromise or another to facilitate accommodation of their Protestant constituents. The authoritative Bishop Bossuet protested against the elements of force in conversions and warned lest the holy sacrament be profaned. Fénelon felt the same way and urged that Protestants be encouraged to emigrate rather than submit unwillingly to the Catholic mass.⁴⁰ But the amazing and sudden success of the campaign associated with the *dragonnades* convinced most of the leaders that, although the use of force stirred uneasy consciences, the evidence of success probably justified the means employed. This was exactly what Augustine had said centuries ago as he contemplated the beneficial effects of imprisonment on the Donatists.

Getting down to cases, the edict in twelve articles specified what should be the situation of religion henceforth. Article I cleared away all former edicts and required the destruction of remaining Protestant churches. The

³⁸ Baird, II, 20.

³⁹ See French text in *Édits, déclarations et arrêts*, pp. 239–45.

⁴⁰ Orcibal, pp. 119, 131, 139.

next two articles forbade Protestant assemblies of any kind, "in any place or particular house, under any pretext whatsoever," as well as in any house or estate of any nobleman of any rank whatsoever. Articles IV through VI decreed that recalcitrant ministers who would not convert must leave the realm within fifteen days and, in the meantime, exercise no function of their ministry, on pain of the galleys. But ministers who saw the light should enjoy a pension and education and professional rights. Articles VII and VIII forbade Protestant education and required Catholic baptism and education for all children. Article IX offered amnesty and return of goods to expatriate Protestants who converted and returned within four months; X specifically forbade any Protestant to leave the realm; XI dealt with the relapsed. The last article guaranteed individual freedom of conscience and possession of goods so long as no exercise whatsoever was made of worship or other observance. All bailiffs and other authorities were enjoined to apply the new edict religiously and without exception, "*car tel est notre plaisir*." Did the king anticipate the attenuation of his edict in detailed application?

The effect of this edict was immediate and heavy, although it was different only in degree from what had gone on before. It generalized the persecution and it generalized the emigration. After some hesitation, occasioned by his doubts as to Louis's ultimate designs on the church, Pope Innocent XI congratulated him on the annulment of all the laws "in favor of the heretics in your realm" ("*faventes istius regni haereticis constitutiones*"). and on his devotion to the true religion. "The Catholic church will not forget to mark in its annals so great a work of your devotion to which she will never cease to praise your name" ("*Recensebit profecto suis in fastis catholica Ecclesia tam grande tuae erga ipsam devotionis opus, nomenque tuum non interituris praeconiis prosequetur*").⁴¹ He reminded the king of the continued usefulness of the universal church and its supreme head with the assurance that he would continue to pray that God's blessing might indeed rest on the royal head. This may not have been altogether what the king really wanted. On the other hand, the Protestant powers in general protested strongly against the revocation of the king's word and issued orders for reception of and aid to whatever refugees might seek admission.

Within France the effect was apparent at the local level. In Dieppe the last Protestant service of worship had been held on 11 February 1685. In spite of efforts to prevent their departure many Protestants had already fled before the revocation. Many houses stood empty. With the edict

⁴¹ *Édits, déclarations et arrests*, pp. 605-6; E. E. De Beer, "The Revocation of the Edict of Nantes and English Public Opinion," *HSLProc.*, XVIII (1950).

of revocation the town was surrounded as if it were an enemy bastion, and on 12 November royal troops entered like conquerors.⁴² Some of the Protestants submitted, but more fled into exile. Most of their goods were confiscated.⁴³ Similar stories were repeated all over France. They were preserved and cherished in the French equivalent of Foxe's *Book of Martyrs*, Jean Claude's *Les plaintes des protestants cruellement opprimés dans le royaume de France*.⁴⁴ After an account of the steps by which the regime increased persecution by civil discrimination, economic restriction, new oppressive laws, prohibition of emigration, and *dragonnades*, the revocation and its consequences were detailed.⁴⁵ Quaintly Claude described the terrors of flight in his old French: "*Si quelques uns pour garentir leurs consciences, & pour échapper à la tyrannie de ces enragez; se sauvoient à la fuite on les poursuivoit dans les champs, & dans les bois, on tiroit sur eux comme sur des bêtes sauvages.*"⁴⁶

Thus occurred the famous change of policy which was supposed to obliterate Protestantism in France. One is struck by the outward similarities between the Edict of Nantes and that of Fontainebleau which revoked it. The strong prohibition of public worship and permission of private devotion are found in both documents.⁴⁷ Both professed to have the welfare of France at heart. It was the understanding of the purpose of the legislation and the means by which it was to be achieved that placed them in opposition. Louis XIV conceived of himself as the personification and culmination of the grand design for an absolute state. The medal struck upon the occasion of the revocation bore the inscription *Lud. Magn. Fran. et Nav. Rex Pat. Patr. Rest. Piet.* (Louis the Great, King of France and Navarre, Father of His Country, Renewer of Piety).⁴⁸ If he failed in his ultimate purpose, it was not for lack of trying. Yet fail he did. Perhaps symbolic is the fact that, one week after the aged monarch died in 1715, a group of Protestant ministers held the first synod of the "Desert," in a quarry near Nîmes.⁴⁹ Many years later, on 17 November 1787, just two years over a century after the revocation, an Edict of Toleration was issued by a king who had not yet lost his head in the

⁴² *La seconde partie de l'Histoire de l'église réformée de Dieppe*, I, 200. This work, probably written in 1688, was discovered in England in 1886 by Schickler. It continues the work of G. and J. Daval, *Histoire de la réforme à Dieppe 1557-1657*, written much earlier in the seventeenth century.

⁴³ *La seconde partie*, II, 148-49.

⁴⁴ The early account carries down to pp. 66 in French, 93 in English.

⁴⁵ Claude, pp. 85-86 ff. in French, 108 in English.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 75 in French, 100 in English.

⁴⁷ Cf. Henri Tollin, *Geschichte der französischen Colonie von Magdeburg*, I, 46.

⁴⁸ Haase, p. 96.

⁴⁹ Scoville, p. 71.

French Revolution. The latter completed the debacle of absolutism, legitimacy, and the forlorn remnants of the medieval ideal of the organic unity of the faith in a visible church.

2. *The Church of the Desert.* The old strongholds were gone. Gone were La Rochelle and Montauban. The intendant Bégon reported from the seaport that the town had lost a third of its population, and more were leaving every day. The same was true of the old refuge of the Midi. There was no longer any refuge in France. Or was there? Not everyone turned Catholic. Nor did everyone flee the country. Many Protestants remained within the realm but did not conform to the only established faith. Some of these made accommodations if necessary. But they did not disappear in the sea of Catholicism. How did they survive? And where? The answer lies in the "Church of the Desert" (*les assemblées du désert*). In other words, the church underground. The designation "desert" is derived from Revelation 12:6: "and the woman fled into the wilderness, where she has a place prepared by God." Soon after the revocation in the fall of 1685 word spread quietly of meetings in the wild Cévennes and out-of-the-way places in Languedoc.⁵⁰ Similar meetings, in fact, had already occurred before the revocation. In 1684 a service of worship for a thousand persons had been held secretly in a forest near Royan (Dép. Charente-In-férieure). In Normandy every Sunday, Protestants came from St.-Lô, Coutances, Caen, and other communities to worship in a swamp near St. Waast. Certain spots became famous (in a strictly limited manner), such as La Boite à Cailloux near Roissel in Picardy, a grotto where people worshiped by torchlight until 1789. There was a cave near Vans (Dép. Ardèche) so roomy that three thousand people could gather at one time. It even had a natural high "chancel." Access was so difficult that even a large meeting could not be betrayed by noise or commotion.

All over France, but especially in regions of former Protestant strength, these secret meetings took place. The ode by Agrippa d'Aubigné, refugee in Geneva in the early seventeenth century, became prophetic:

*Les temples du païen, du Turc, de l'idolâtre,
Haussent au ciel l'orgueil du marbre et de l'albâtre;
Et Dieu seul, au désert pauvrement hébergé,
A bâti tout le monde et n'y est pas logé!*

⁵⁰ A full account of the period of the Desert is Theodor F. Schott, *Die Kirche der Wüste, 1715 bis 1787*. For early developments see pp. 6-7. Also Shelby McCloy, "Persecution of the Huguenots in the 18th Century," *CH*, XX (1951), 56-79.

*Les moineaux ont leurs nids, leurs nids les hirondelles;
On dresse quelque fuie aux simples colombelles;
Tout est mis à l'abri par le soin des mortels,
Et Dieu seul, immortel, n'a logis ni autels.*

*En ces lieux caverneux tes chères assemblées,
Des ombres de la mort incessamment troublées,
Ne feront-elles plus résonner tes saints lieux,
Et ton renom voler des terres dans les cieux?⁶¹*

The temples of pagan, Turk, and idolater
Raise to heaven their arrogance of marble and alabaster;
Yet God alone, poorly sheltered in the desert,
Has built the whole world and has no lodging there!

The sparrows have their nests, the swallows have theirs too,
And for the simple doves they place some little lodge;
All are given shelter by the care of mortal men;
Yet God alone, immortal, has neither home nor altar.

Will your devoted congregations in these deep caves,
Continually troubled by the shadows of death,
Ever again make your holy places resound
And your name soar from earth to heaven?

Almost all the ministers, of course, were gone. An old folk song complained:

They have expelled all our pastors.
They have all been banned from France.
All our pastors are gone away,
And the sheep have gone astray.

Yet the ministers had little choice in 1685. Although numbers of them later crept secretly back into France to serve the people who remained, they could scarcely have stayed in 1685. Even their congregations would not have supported them then. They had been expressly exiled by the edict of revocation. Some had gone before the revocation. Hundreds left at the publication of the edict. About a hundred conformed to Roman Catholicism, for a while at least. A few refused to leave or to be converted. Of these some died or went to the galleys. The small remainder disappeared at once into the "desert." To this remnant were added, from time to time before the end of the century, numbers of ministers who returned after things had settled down somewhat and, presently, in the

⁶¹ Quoted from Owen Roche, *Days of the Upright*, pp. 312-15.

eighteenth century, young men who obtained ministerial training and orders in the refugee seminary of Lausanne. One such early example was Claude Brousson, a lawyer from Toulouse, who came back from exile, with authority of ordination, to preach to his secret congregations. He continued thus until 1698, when he was caught and executed in Montpellier.⁵² At least a hundred ministers lost their lives in this perilous ministry before 1762.

There were special alarms. In the first decade of the eighteenth century the country was disrupted, on the one hand by the uprising of the Camisards out of their fastnesses in the Cévennes and on the other by the seizure of Orange by King Louis XIV. This little principality enjoyed the dubious privilege of freedom in the Rhône Valley surrounded by France. The French king had already taken it once and returned it. Now in 1703 he took it again and closed down Protestantism. Almost all of the Protestant population moved *en masse*, with permission, to Switzerland.⁵³

The real period of the Church of the Desert began with the reign of Louis XV in 1715. In theory nothing was changed. The old laws remained, and new ones were added. But the underground church came into its own with a full consistorial, colloquial, and synodal organization. In the mountains, in the forests—wherever they could gather with some hope of not being caught—the secret Protestants persevered. Whether they lived at home and crept out by night to their assemblies or took up residence semipermanently in the woods and gorges, they were, to all intents and purposes, religious refugees—as much so as those who had emigrated to far countries. The Church of the Desert was a refugee church, a homeless church, a church without roots or home base, a church on the move. This achievement was owing in no small degree to one man who providentially appeared to rescue Protestantism in France from utter dissolution. Before he arrived on the scene there was no effective organization, only local efforts. Extremists appealed to people in desperation, with uncontrolled spiritual “prophesyings” and visions.

The calm hand of authority and reason was that of Antoine Court, who originated from Vivarais. He possessed many gifts, including a vigorous physique and eloquence, to say nothing of integrity and courage. He discredited the fanatics and brought order to the underground movement. Ever since the revocation the spiritualists, the spirit-filled prophets, had preached in the “desert.” The movement was closely related to the

⁵² Schott, *Die Kirche der Wüste*, pp. 8–9. See also Robert P. Gagg, *Kirche im Feuer*, for spiritualist forces. Poem p. 10.

⁵³ On the Camisard rising see André Ducasse, *La guerre des Camisards*.

doctrine of the priesthood of all believers. Court was the man who, a week after the death of Louis XIV, led the people in their assembly in the old quarry near Nîmes. There he helped them reorganize the church according to rudimentary presbyterian principles.⁵⁴ Between 1715, when the first synod was held in Languedoc, and 1726, when the first national synod of the revived church was held in a valley of his native Vivarais, Antoine Court gave the leadership indispensable for a people living under pressure of persecution. Then, in 1730, he went out to Lausanne, where he began a new career as founder and builder of a refugee seminary. Thus he made virtue of necessity, as renewed persecution made his work impossible in France.

Each underground Protestant community had its own story to tell. The little village of Le Mas d'Azil, in the county of Foix, survived because of its isolated location. Persecution in the eighteenth century tended to be local and sporadic. While Court was bringing together the pieces of Protestantism in the Cévennes, Mas d'Azil continued to be a lively though diminutive center of Evangelical witness.⁵⁵ Another little community was St. Jean du Gard in the Cévennes. Today the highway approach is tortuous, following the sharp lines of the low but steep mountains of the region. Deep valleys, steep slopes, and tumultuous streams characterize the environs. The town itself is typical of the Protestant villages of the "desert." Because of its river-valley setting it is strung along a narrow main street which roughly parallels the course of the river nearby. The modern church is much bigger than the Protestant chapels one encounters elsewhere in France and is the largest one in town. All around are the wild forests of the Cévennes, full of chestnuts and scrub oaks.

In regions like these the Protestants of the Church of the Desert held out against the repeated storms of persecution. Six ministers were executed in 1745. In these decades French Protestants suffered under an image that pictured them as "un-French," as "antisocial."⁵⁶ The savagery with which Jean Calas was executed reflected the prejudice which saw in him not only a heretic but a traitor, an outsider who didn't belong. Ministers were regarded as enemy agents. Under the social circumstances most of the bourgeois Protestants conformed outwardly to avoid ostracism. Thus French Protestantism became a "peasant church," consequently associated in the minds of others with social unrest. One may see a correlation between periods of tension over high grain prices (1752 and 1757-60) and

⁵⁴ Schott, *Kirche der Wüste*, pp. 26-27; Gagg, pp. 289-90.

⁵⁵ Wemyss, p. 148.

⁵⁶ On this see David D. Bien, "Religious Persecution in the French Enlightenment," *CH*, XXX (1961), 325-33, and *The Calas Affair*.

periods of violence in persecution. The second of these coincides with the Calas affair in Toulouse.⁵⁷ Allegations of subversive activities placed Protestants in almost the same position as the Jesuits, who were expelled from the realm on similar grounds.

In spite of everything the Protestants survived through the eighteenth century into the reign of King Louis XVI, when the pressures of persecution were relaxed. The king now listened to liberal advisers like Turgot and Malesherbes. In the spring of 1787 Lafayette made a motion—strongly opposed by the clergy—in the Assembly of Notables for the repeal of the laws against Protestants. That autumn the royal Edict of Toleration was issued, which admitted the failures of the past and announced a new policy. Symbolic of the new age was the election of Rabaut St. Étienne, a renowned Protestant minister, as president of the National Assembly as the French Revolution broke. Earlier in the sessions he had made a speech containing ideas hitherto not commonly heard in France:

Gentlemen, it is not toleration that I claim, but liberty. . . . If examples may be cited, imitate the example of those generous Americans that have placed at the head of their civil code the sacred maxim of universal religious freedom; of those Pennsylvanians who have declared that all who adore one God, in whatever manner they adore Him, shall enjoy every right of citizenship; of those gentle and wise inhabitants of Philadelphia who see all forms of worship established in their city, with twenty different churches, and who perchance owe to this profound acquaintance with liberty the liberty they have won for themselves.⁵⁸

3. *The Refugee Movement Out of France.* All the French Huguenots became refugees at the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. Those who stayed behind were refugees within their own country. The rest left to begin a new life in some foreign land, hoping fervently someday to return. In the first wave were the ministers, singled out for expulsion by the edict itself. They were given fifteen days. A few were not allowed even that brief time. Jean Claude was told to get out within twenty-four hours.⁵⁹ Over six hundred ministers left within the grace period. Wherever they settled, they created a center for concentration of the hordes of people who escaped in spite of efforts to restrain them. The edict had intended the separation of the ministers from the people. The former must leave; the latter must remain. It did not turn out that way.

The many stories about ingenious methods of escaping over the fron-

⁵⁷ See Bien, "Religious Persecution," p. 327.

⁵⁸ Rabaut St. Étienne, *Oeuvres* (Paris, 1826, II, 137–50), quoted in Baird, II, 556.

⁵⁹ Weiss, p. 75.

tiers run a close parallel to those about escapes from behind the Iron Curtain in the mid-twentieth century. In both cases the authorities sought to prevent movements across the border. In both cases individuals and groups successfully evaded all efforts to suppress transit. In both cases, although some were caught, most escaped. Who would have thought that the ragged scullery maid who crossed the border into Switzerland on 30 March 1686 was none other than Mlle Petit, daughter of a lawyer of Nîmes?⁶⁰ Consider the effrontery of that other woman from Nîmes, who stole the uniform of a captain of dragoons and emigrated in a most unlikely costume. Other disguises were those of mule driver and chimney sweep. Many a refugee came out in the close confines of a flour barrel. Erstwhile pilgrims, messengers, sportsmen, peasants, and tradespeople suddenly became Huguenots again once they were safely across the frontier. Children were hidden under piles of clothes. One determined "dragoon" hotly pursued "refugees with false passports" over the border, then revealed how one could be across without any passport at all. He had been a banker in Paris.⁶¹ Some people simply dressed up in their Sunday best and, walking stick in hand, took a stroll in broad daylight—across the border.

Not all left by land. Others tried the sea routes. The difficulty was in getting offshore to ships waiting in the open sea. Small boats slipped off out-of-the-way beaches to rendezvous with English and Dutch ships prepared to take escapees to the British Isles or Holland. This maneuver involved a flourishing business in smuggling and false passports, and hence the possibility of betrayal. It was risky. Once on board ship the danger was by no means over. The ship might be intercepted by a naval vessel protecting the shoreline. Especially in the Mediterranean, refugees were at the mercy of the corsairs. One local church record noted that several people who had fled their community had unhappily fallen into the hands of pirates and had been conducted to Algiers, where they were being held in slavery.⁶²

By sea or by land, thousands managed to get away, individually or in groups. An underground railway developed, with specific points of departure and routes of escape, and with the entire operation sometimes guaranteed only by judicious payments to border guards whose function was to look the other way. As with other underground railways later on in America and Europe, adventurous individuals were willing, for pay or not, to aid the escape of people driven to desperation by their govern-

⁶⁰ Uzler, pp. 40–41.

⁶¹ Schott, *Aufhebung*, pp. 130–31.

⁶² Haase, p. 104.

ments. The way to freedom was not always short. A lawyer from Languedoc began his journey 16 October 1685 and, via the Mediterranean and Italy, reached Lausanne 21 April 1686.⁶³ The peregrinations of Samuel de Pechels are classic. He related in his *Mémoires* how dragoons being quartered in Montauban invaded his house and disrupted domestic life. In the middle of January 1686 he was arrested and imprisoned. After a month he was transported to prisons in Cahors, Montpellier, Aigues-mortes, and Marseilles. Then he was taken, still a prisoner, by ship to Toulon, Gibraltar, Cádiz, and the West Indies. In 1688 he made his escape to English territory in the West Indies and sailed to England, arriving at the end of the year. He finally joined a cavalry regiment in Ireland and settled there with his family.⁶⁴

Many persons had to get out suddenly with no chance of planning an escape. They could not take anything with them. Their affairs were left in shambles—some leaving, as an official report put it, "*à cause de désordre de ses affaires.*"⁶⁵ Families were separated and only with great difficulty, if at all, reunited in exile. A poem is extant from a French Huguenot refugee to her husband, who had stayed behind in Nîmes, asking him to follow her:

*Enfin écoutes la voix pour vos enfants
Et n'en étouffes pas les tendres mouvements.
Si vous les écoutes, ils vous diront sans cesse
Va t'en pour adoucir la douleur qui les presse,
Vole vers les climas où leur cœur et leur voix
T'appellent pour le moins chaque jour mille fois.
Ah! Si je pouvais voir mon époux pénitent
Tu sais, mon Dieu, combien mon cœur serait content.*⁶⁶

No one really knows how many refugees of the revocation there were. Estimates have ranged all the way from sixty thousand to two million. The older authorities are not reliable. Claude twice mentions 150,000 without indicating clearly whether that was all or only a part.⁶⁷ Antoine Court mentioned 800,000; Basnage, 400,000; and Jurieu, speaking of those before 1688, 200,000. Charles Weiss estimated between 250,000 and 300,000.⁶⁸ A serious restudy of documentary information, that by Warren

⁶³ Uzler, p. 42.

⁶⁴ Samuel de Pechels, *Mémoires de Samuel de Pechels, 1685-1692*, pp. 7-69.

⁶⁵ Gachon, p. cxxvii.

⁶⁶ Uzler, pp. 39-40.

⁶⁷ Claude, pp. 5, 104 (Eng. p. 123); cf. references in Pechels, pp. xiii-xiv.

⁶⁸ Weiss, p. 80.

Scoville,⁶⁹ estimates in terms of percentages. If there were about two million Protestants, or 10 percent of the total population, then approximately 10 percent of them left France between 1681 and 1720. That would be 200,000 persons. To these one would add the smaller numbers who departed between 1661 and 1681 and the intermittent trickles after 1720, as well as the Waldenses, a separate movement out of Piedmont. This figure, admittedly approximate, is probably as accurate as any available.

More meaningful are statistics from specific areas. A report from Maastricht stated that already, a week before publication of the edict of revocation, two thousand persons had fled from Sedan.⁷⁰ There were 26,000 empty houses in Normandy. One-third of the citizens of La Rochelle went into exile. Fifty-one thousand left Dauphiné. Of 6,071 Protestants in Grenoble 2,025 left. Of 1,938 families in Paris 1,202 left; of 1,500 at Meaux 1,000; of 2,000 at Amiens 1,600.

In comparison with many other historic movements, therefore, this was a major migration of people. It was far larger, for example, than the emigrations of the Salzburgers and the Waldenses. On the other hand, it was much smaller than the mass migrations of the twentieth century. Of course it did not take place as a single exodus all at once. A graph of rates of migration would show a small flow from 1661 till 1681, a noticeable increase as punitive legislation piled up before the revocation, a sudden jump between 1685 and 1688, a large decrease during the end-of-the-century wars, another increase, although not so large, from 1698 to 1703, another decrease during the War of the Spanish Succession, and a measurable increase in the early years of the reign of Louis XV, complicated by sporadic and local variations.

Where did all these 200,000 and more go? Again, the best figures available are estimates, and some of those are little better than calculated guesses. Scoville, attempting a summary determination, gives the following figures:⁷¹

Netherlands	50,000-75,000	Germany	30,000
Switzerland	60,000	Ireland	5,000-10,000
England	40,000-50,000	Remainder	scattered elsewhere

Only about 25,000 of the refugees who went to Switzerland stayed there. The rest went on to the Rhineland and Brandenburg. A careful study

⁶⁹ Scoville, pp. 118, 436.

⁷⁰ Baird, II, 32; cf. Schott, *Aufhebung*, p. 139; Tollin, I, 161-62; Henry de France, *Les Montalbanais et le refuge*, p. iv. Justin Fraissinet, "Protestants fugitifs arrêtés et poursuivis devant le Parlement de Grenoble (1685-1687)," *SHPFBul.*, VII (1858), VIII (1859).

⁷¹ Scoville, pp. 122-25.

of the refugees from Montauban reveals the following destinations: Berlin 113, England 105, Amsterdam 96, London 90, Holland 76, Erlangen 55, Geneva 42, Magdeburg 39, Copenhagen 30, America 29, Halle 26, The Hague 24, Ireland 23, Dublin 22, Lausanne 22, Rotterdam 19, Leiden 16, Cologne 14, Königsberg 14, Wesel 14, Spandau 13, Delft 10, Utrecht 10.⁷² This particular distribution reveals an amazing diversity of destination of refugees, all of whom started from the same city and environs.

An interesting study has been made of the places of origin of the refugees who settled in lower Saxony:⁷³

Languedoc	408	35%	Normandy	60	5%
Dauphiné	153	13%	Switzerland	63	5%
Poitou	88	8%	Guienne	34	3%
Champagne	57	5%	Lorraine	37	3%

The rest came from many diverse sources. These figures indicate that the refugees in lower Saxony, although they would undoubtedly show proportionately more from northern France, still came largely from the southern provinces. By directional regions the breakdown is as follows:

Southeast France	591	Northwest	75
West	110	"Heart of France"	52
Mideast and Switzerland	106	Northeast	41
East	103	Central	26

To this list must be added 347, origin unknown. It is seen that 53 percent came to lower Saxony from southeastern France alone.

These samplings of the movement will give some indication of the nature of the exodus of the revocation. All of France was affected. Almost all of Europe felt the impact. A scattering of people and a mingling of Frenchmen from all the diverse provinces of the land took place far from home in extremely varied regions. Some were able to settle in places where the native language was their own, as, for example, French-speaking Switzerland. Most had to acquire a new language as well as a new life in some foreign country. All but the ministers and a few privileged individuals, mostly noblemen, had to leave illegally. This meant that they must smuggle out such wealth as they could and leave their real estate behind for confiscation by the authorities. A complex system for

⁷² France, by analysis of the geographical index.

⁷³ Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, pp. 187 ff.

administration of the property of refugees was worked out, and specific regulations were made regarding the claims of members of the family and relatives.⁷⁴ Thus most of the bridges were burned behind them. Although the refugees may have dreamed about a return, they could have no realistic expectations as long as the absolute rule of the Bourbons continued. Goods confiscated or held in escrow might be used as a device to entice people to come back to France converted to Catholicism. Eventually, legitimate heirs were also required to make formal Catholic profession before they could enter a claim.

Gradually, for most of the refugees the new life became the permanent life, and the new country became the native country. When, at long last, the French Revolution opened the way for free return, the majority of the refugees had long since been assimilated into the population. Many no longer spoke French. Many had even changed their names to obliterate the French sound. The loss to France was not only immeasurable but permanent.

⁷⁴ See the full discussion in Emmanuel Jahan, *La confiscation des biens des religionnaires fugitifs de la révocation de l'Édit de Nantes à la Revolution*, summary of laws, pp. 4-5; regulations on repossession, pp. 15-17.

Chapter 21

The Dispersion of the Huguenots

*Frideric Guillaume Electeur de Brandenbourg, de glorieuse & d'heureuse mémoire, a signalé sa Charité dans cette occasion, car au lieu que les autres Souverains se sont contentez de recevoir dans leurs Etats ceux qui s'y sont retirez, & leur accorder leur Protection; Il les a appelez & a pourvû à leurs besoins de la maniere que nous le dirons dans la suite. Il ne leur a parû un Arbre infructueux.**

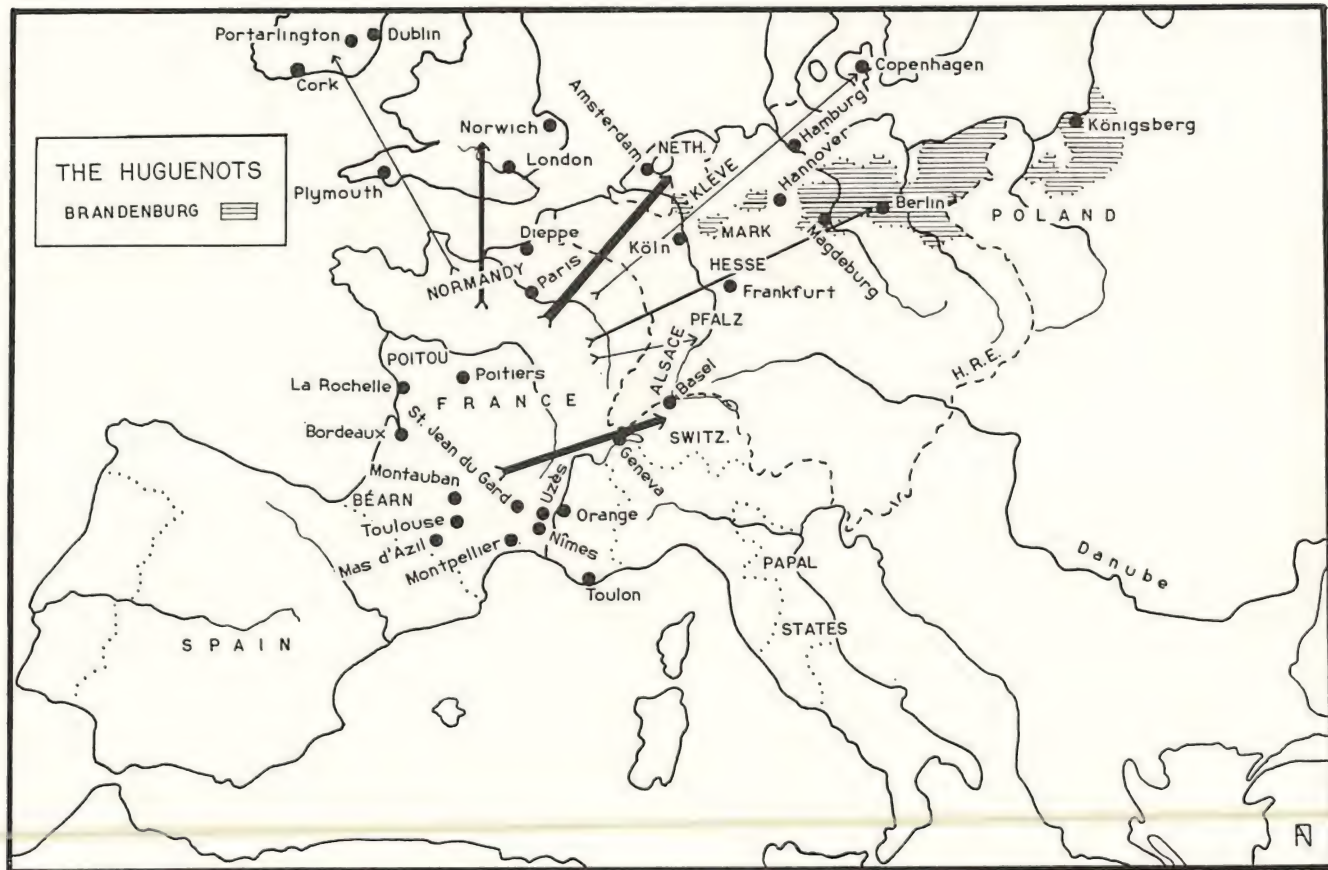
Ancillon, *Histoire* (1690)

We blame the King that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Huguenots and Dutch.

Daniel Defoe, *The True-Born Englishman*

*L*ike ripples spreading from the splash of a stone in a pond, the Protestants of France moved out of their homeland, first to neighboring states which allowed them temporary refuge, then on to more remote areas where they settled permanently, such as Great Britain and Brandenburg-Prussia. Ultimately they were scattered far around the world, to North and South America and South Africa. In this chapter we ob-

* "Frederick William, Elector of Brandenburg, of glorious and happy memory, has demonstrated his beneficence on this occasion, for while other rulers have been content to receive in their realms those who have fled there and to offer them protection, he has called them and provided for their needs in the way of which we shall speak following. He has not been for them an unfruitful tree."



serve them first crossing the borders into Holland, Switzerland, and the states of the Rhineland. When the migration was over, many countries which had never known the French tongue had acquired a permanent Gallic flavor.

A. The Netherlands

Pierre Bayle, himself a refugee in the Netherlands, called his adopted country "*la grande arche des fugitifs*." ¹ This it had been for a long time. An earlier chapter has told the story of the migrations of the refugees of the Reformation to the Low Countries, which added a French Walloon-German ingredient to Dutch life. Down through the seventeenth century the southern portion remained in the possession of Spain. Thus the new independent nation which comprised the northern provinces provided the main haven for those refugees of the revocation who poured through the forests of the Ardennes and found their way to safety north of the Scheldt and Rhine.² Quite early, by 1681, several of the estates had voted privileges of entry and settlement to such French Protestants as wished to come in. Generally the terms were generous.³ The newcomers were relieved of tax burdens for periods up to twelve or fourteen years and were allowed free exercise of their trades without limitation by guild regulations. Collections were made to help them get settled. Ministers were salaried by the government.

As soon as the *dragonnades* of Poitou in 1681 began to press on the Huguenots, the first fugitives began to appear. With Amsterdam in the lead, the major cities offered a welcome. Those who came by land reached first the southern provinces, such as Gelderland and Zeeland. Some of the older, declining Walloon churches, which dated from the Reformation, didn't know what hit them. When the flood came in 1685-88, some of these churches were overwhelmed. Tensions inevitably developed between the old-timers and the newcomers. Middelburg and Vlissingen each called three new ministers. Veere and Zierikzee got two each. So angry were the estates of Zeeland at the Catholic persecution in France that they expelled many priests and exiled a number of Catholic

¹ Quoted in Erich Haase, *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge*, p. 101, from Bayle's *Dictionnaire*, III, Kuchlin.

² The most useful survey of the geographical expansion of Huguenot settlements is the major work by Charles Weiss, *History of the French Protestant Refugees*. An old but thorough study of the refugees in Holland is H. J. Koenen, *Geschiedenis van de Vestiging en de Invloed der fransche Vluchtelingen in Nederland*; see esp. pp. 73-104.

³ See Reginald L. Poole, *History of the Huguenots of the Dispersion*, p. 36 and *passim*. Koenen, pp. 105-12, 362-67.

families. The latter, however, were kindly received at Rotterdam until they were allowed to return home. Especially interesting was a group of Huguenots who settled in the little stretch south of the Scheldt, Zeeuwisch Vlaanderen, close by the border of the Spanish Netherlands. There were nine French churches there by 1686.⁴

Most of the travelers, however, went on to Holland and Friesland. Haarlem, Schiedam, The Hague, Rotterdam—all let them in. Within one month five thousand came to Rotterdam. The greatest concentration was in Amsterdam. In 1684, before the revocation, two thousand refugees lived in that great commercial center. By 1700 there were fifteen thousand. The Walloon deacons were each year aiding two thousand refugees. A summary of ministerial service offers some basis for comparison: Amsterdam had sixteen French ministers, Leiden and Rotterdam eight each, Haarlem and Dordrecht seven, Delft six, Gouda five, and The Hague three. By 1688 the Netherlands had sixty-two refugee congregations altogether.⁵ Still farther to the northeast, in Friesland, more Huguenots came. The estates of Friesland had got an early start in welcoming refugees as soon as the *dragonnades* of Poitou began.⁶ Large cities like Groningen helped, but the bigger settlements were in the smaller places. In Groningen itself the situation was complicated by the uncooperative attitude of the Walloon church, which refused to admit the new French refugees.

Thus settlements were made almost everywhere in the Netherlands. Some of the most illustrious names—noble, ecclesiastical, and literary—were to be found among the refugees in Holland. Ministers of note were Jean Claude, Pierre Jurieu, and Jacques Basnage. Pierre Bayle, although in a different category as an enlightened deist, was renowned throughout Europe. Both he and Jurieu had come in 1681 from Sedan, when their school there was suppressed. In Rotterdam they undertook the defense of freedom against Bourbon tyranny, but from quite different points of view. Although Bayle was by nature tolerant, Jurieu was a fiery defender of strict Calvinism against all comers, both Roman Catholic and Protestant. He had taught Hebrew and theology at Sedan, continued to teach theology in Rotterdam, and served as a minister of the Walloon church as well. He was thus well situated to take up the defense of the Reformed faith against the powerful attacks of Bishop Bossuet in France. This tough scholar-statesman had laid the foundations

⁴ Poole, pp. 41 ff.

⁵ Henri Tollin, *Geschichte der französischen Colonie von Magdeburg*, I, 230-31.

⁶ Theodor F. Schott, *Die Aufhebung des Ediktes von Nantes im Oktober, 1685*, p. 144.

for Gallicanism. Now he turned to the dismemberment of Protestantism with massive works, *L'exposition de la doctrine de l'Église* and *Histoire des variations des églises Protestantes*. Jurieu stood forth as almost the only competent scholar to answer forthrightly the aspersions of Bossuet. His *Traité de la puissance de l'Église*, while admitting the variations in expression of the faith, maintained that true unity was to be found in the common heritage of all. The political aspect of his teaching brought to life once again the doctrine of the right of revolution against tyranny.

Perhaps the most notable refugee was one who came to Holland later, Jacques Saurin. Already famous as orator and preacher in England, he arrived in The Hague in 1705, continued an illustrious career as both preacher and diplomat, and exercised powerful influence on both French and Dutch inhabitants of the capital city.

This powerful infusion of new blood transformed the old Walloon churches, which had languished for lack of incentive and leadership. Although tensions arose as the traditional customs were brushed aside, along with some of the traditional leadership, the net result was beneficial for both the French-speaking congregations themselves and the Dutch community. Especially was preaching by the French refugee ministers acclaimed.⁷ There were problems, especially of church discipline. Many of the refugees had been caught in the pressure to convert to Roman Catholicism. They had abjured the faith in order to plan an escape. After getting out, they renounced their abjurations and reclaimed their Reformed heritage. But the strong Calvinistic sense of church discipline frowned on this procedure. One is reminded of the Donatists of old—ethical perfectionists also. Only with difficulty did many of those who had once compromised win readmittance to the congregation of the faithful. Nevertheless, these were people who, whatever the compromises into which they had been forced, cherished their faith highly enough to give up homeland for the uncertain life of exile in order once again to worship freely. In the early years spiritual fervor marked the religious life of almost all the refugees. This, in turn, especially in the Netherlands, led to internal conflict among those who regarded so highly the purity of the Christian faith. The same controversial spirit had plagued the Mennonite refugees in Holland in the sixteenth century.

In the Netherlands the immigrants had influence on political and military life. As diplomats and soldiers many of them excelled. Both the duke de Schomberg and the marquis de Ruigny served outstandingly as commanders in the forces of William of Orange.

⁷ Koenen, p. 169.

One of the most common aspects of refugee movements, as we saw in the case of the Reformation refugees, is the spread of manufacturing techniques and commercial enterprise. Encouraged by the governmental authorities new industries sprang up all over the United Provinces. Haarlem and Leiden both benefited from the development of the woolen trade. Amsterdam, which had been largely a commercial entrepôt, became, under the enterprise of French refugees, an industrial center as well, with new factories for the manufacture of wool, silk, linen, and paper. The key to this economic advance was, as it had been with the refugees of the Reformation, freedom from control by the strict guild regulations. Foreign artisans enjoyed considerably more freedom than did native craftsmen. As formerly also, there was considerable grouching on the part of the natives at the apparent favor shown the outsiders. Leiden and Haarlem especially felt the impact of refugee initiative.⁸ Besides various clothmaking enterprises papermaking and publishing were the most important industries directly affected by the French settlement.

More refugees flowed into the Netherlands than any other place. Geographical accessibility and an already high renown as a haven, together with the presence of long-established Walloon communities, explain the preeminence of this current. But, some went on to places like Brandenburg. Over the years the processes of assimilation were at work in a nation already accustomed to diversities of language and culture. Nevertheless, in some cases the sense of French, if not refugee, identity persevered. In Amsterdam, in 1958, I spoke French with the director of the French hospital and home.

B. Switzerland

The little mountain nation of the Alps was at once a most natural and a most dangerous refuge for Huguenots. It was most easily reached from the southern portions of France, where most of the Protestants lived. It was the only place of refuge with a native French-speaking population. It had an even longer history of hospitality than Holland. But it lay close by the enveloping power of the Bourbon monarchy. The French-speaking regions, particularly Geneva, were acutely aware of the overshadowing threat. The presence in Geneva, during the most critical period of the refugee movements, of an official French "resident" was more than symbolic. Neither Geneva in the south nor Basel in the north could forget that France lay a bare few miles away. These cities were

⁸ Weiss, p. 444.

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commonly known as Genève and Basle, pronunciations easy to a French tongue. If the Hapsburg threat had once been acute, the Bourbon threat was chronic.

For all these reasons thousands of Huguenots poured into Switzerland but most of them soon went on to other, more remote refuges. In plain fact, Switzerland, small and not wealthy, was quite incapable of taking on the whole movement herself. Quickly enough the number of refugees would overtake the population of even the largest cities. In the final analysis this little country could be little more than a way station for the main current of fugitives. No more than 25,000 settled permanently in Switzerland, although many more would have stayed if they could. How easy to return home from Geneva! How simple to move across the border into the Pays de Vaud! The trouble was, the dragoons were only a few miles away, and the French resident was in Geneva itself. That city was repeatedly swamped, as, for that matter, were Lausanne, Bern, Zürich, and even Schaffhausen. For many years Basel was not so popular because of the disruption of Rhine traffic by the French wars.

All through the seventeenth century refugees had continued to trickle into Geneva, although the Edict of Nantes for a while almost ended the flow. But in 1623 a French church was organized in Bern, in which German-speaking city a little French community had worshiped for a long time.⁹ After 1661, of course the flow increased, and it became a flood after 1681. Geneva, relatively small as both city and canton, was overwhelmed. The rest of the confederation had to help. As it turned out, assistance followed very much the order of size and wealth. The city of Bern, with its central location and large canton, contributed most, about 30 percent of the total refugee fund, which was established on a cooperative basis.¹⁰ Zürich was next with one-fourth of the support. Basel contributed 18 percent; Schaffhausen, 17 percent.

But it was Geneva that had to take the first waves. The Charity Registers, started in 1682 and continued for forty years, show that 22,000 persons received public help in the form of shelter. A rough estimate is that 60,000 people went through Geneva as refugees.¹¹ On the other hand, only about 4,000 or less settled permanently. Huge sums were spent in public relief, only part of which was reimbursed by contributions from the rest of the confederation.

⁹ F. de Schickler, *Les églises du refuge*, p. 25. This work is an extract from the *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*.

¹⁰ Johann K. Mörkofer, *Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*, p. 165. Mme Alexandre de Chambrier, "Les réfugiés français en Suisse de 1593 à 1699 et la convention entre Berne et les cantons évangéliques," SHPFBul., LVIII (1909).

¹¹ Poole, p. 115; Mörkofer, p. 321.

Throughout Switzerland the organization of refugee life was much the same. There was usually a municipal department—the *Exulanten-kammer*—which had general oversight. Subject to its authority was a consistory or *Direction* composed of church members, often with representation from the city. The pastor of the French church was president.²⁶ In Zürich the responsibility of the consistory was spelled out in detail. It was to regulate the entire religious life of the French community, set the services, provide for training classes and prayer services, and especially see that the preaching and teaching went “according to the Scriptures and the French Confession and the Helvetic Confession.”²⁷ Ecclesiastical discipline was to be strictly maintained according to the customs of the French church and the standards of Zürich.

Whether in German- or French-speaking areas, the Huguenot exiles worshiped with relative freedom. This freedom was limited, of course, by the long-standing custom of the Swiss churches to depend on municipal establishment. Sometimes the church could choose its own ministers, sometimes not. An extensive document of 1689 published in Bern indicates the concern for propriety on the part of the authorities.²⁸ In first place in this *Memoire de ce qui se trouve necessairement a reformer parmy les Refugiez* was the warning that the visitors ought not enter the church for worship before the Germans had left. Then everyone ought to come in “before the clock has stopped sounding,” because of the evil habit of “entering from the beginning of the service until the end, which is a cause of scandal.” Men and women should sit separately and observe proper decorum. In fact, “ils ayent plus de respect dans le Temple qu’ils n’ont eu jusqu’à présent, et qu’ils s’abstiennent de passer sur les bancs, et de mettre leur chapeau avant que d’estre sortis contre toute bienséance, et le respect que l’on doit avoir pour ce saint lieu.”

The authorities were bent on teaching some lessons in etiquette. The women, the document continued, should show proper modesty in attire and coiffure lest they fall into vanity. Finally, they were adjured to follow the customs of the country in attendance on the Lord’s Table, to “avoid confusion.”

These ecclesiastical regulations reflect a wider social segregation which characterized particularly the German-speaking areas. The refugees themselves were not anxious to get their roots too deep because most of them expected to return to France when conditions were more propitious. Their sense of being Frenchmen was very strong. Consequently they did

²⁶ Imer, pp. 86–89; Wildbolz, pp. 155–56.

²⁷ Mörikofer, p. 213.

²⁸ Quoted complete in Wildbolz, pp. 159–60.

commonly known as Genève and Basle, pronunciations easy to a French tongue. If the Hapsburg threat had once been acute, the Bourbon threat was chronic.

For all these reasons thousands of Huguenots poured into Switzerland but most of them soon went on to other, more remote refuges. In plain fact, Switzerland, small and not wealthy, was quite incapable of taking on the whole movement herself. Quickly enough the number of refugees would overtake the population of even the largest cities. In the final analysis this little country could be little more than a way station for the main current of fugitives. No more than 25,000 settled permanently in Switzerland, although many more would have stayed if they could. How easy to return home from Geneva! How simple to move across the border into the Pays de Vaud! The trouble was, the dragoons were only a few miles away, and the French resident was in Geneva itself. That city was repeatedly swamped, as, for that matter, were Lausanne, Bern, Zürich, and even Schaffhausen. For many years Basel was not so popular because of the disruption of Rhine traffic by the French wars.

All through the seventeenth century refugees had continued to trickle into Geneva, although the Edict of Nantes for a while almost ended the flow. But in 1623 a French church was organized in Bern, in which German-speaking city a little French community had worshiped for a long time.⁹ After 1661, of course the flow increased, and it became a flood after 1681. Geneva, relatively small as both city and canton, was overwhelmed. The rest of the confederation had to help. As it turned out, assistance followed very much the order of size and wealth. The city of Bern, with its central location and large canton, contributed most, about 30 percent of the total refugee fund, which was established on a cooperative basis.¹⁰ Zürich was next with one-fourth of the support. Basel contributed 18 percent; Schaffhausen, 17 percent.

But it was Geneva that had to take the first waves. The Charity Registers, started in 1682 and continued for forty years, show that 22,000 persons received public help in the form of shelter. A rough estimate is that 60,000 people went through Geneva as refugees.¹¹ On the other hand, only about 4,000 or less settled permanently. Huge sums were spent in public relief, only part of which was reimbursed by contributions from the rest of the confederation.

⁹ F. de Schickler, *Les églises du refuge*, p. 25. This work is an extract from the *Encyclopédie des sciences religieuses*.

¹⁰ Johann K. Mörikofer, *Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*, p. 165. Mme Alexandre de Chambrier, "Les réfugiés français en Suisse de 1593 à 1699 et la convention entre Berne et les cantons évangéliques," *SHPEBul.*, LVIII (1909).

¹¹ Poole, p. 115; Mörikofer, p. 321.

And the first waves of 1681 and 1685 were followed by many more. In 1687 the little town was caring for eight hundred migrants per day. Refugees from the violence of the Camisard revolt came. The refugees of Orange came. Quite early an organization was set up along lines widely copied throughout the confederation. The two most important agencies were the *Chambre du Refuge* (German *Exulantenkammer*) and the *Bourse du Refuge* or *Bourse française*.¹² In this way Geneva was able to survive the flood and send the fugitives on to the other communities and, eventually, to final settlement in the Rhineland and Brandenburg. Keeping track was extremely difficult. There was always much traveling back and forth within the confederation, and also back to France. These movements in Geneva were two-way. By adroit maneuvers the Genevan authorities managed to evade the insistence of the French resident on strict adherence to the desires of the French king. To help refugees with the king of France breathing down their necks required finesse!

One special episode among the series of waves of refugees resulted from the seizure of Orange by Louis XIV. This little principality along the Rhône had already been taken twice and restored. In each case the Protestants were dislodged but returned. But in 1702 the French king seized it again, this time deporting all the Protestants permanently. The conditions under which they disposed of their real property and traveled to Geneva were most trying.¹³ The men were required to travel down the Rhone to Switzerland via Nice while the women were sent upstream. At Lyon, Swiss agents provided much-needed help, else the entire contingent of six hundred women, together with their children, would have perished.¹⁴ About two thousand of these people of Orange came to Geneva. Most of them went on soon to final settlement in Brandenburg. Although reluctant to live so far from home, almost nine hundred sailed down the Rhine in midsummer in six convoys from Basel to Frankfurt. There they were met by agents of the elector, who provided for their ultimate transportation.

Another important area of refuge was the Pays de Vaud, the French-speaking part of the large canton of Bern directly opposite the French

¹² Schickler, p. 48; cf., for example, Florian Imer, *La colonie française de Berne*, pp. 16-19; and Hans Wildbolz, *Die französischen Kolonie von Bern, 1689-1850*, pp. 33-46.

¹³ Eugène Arnaud, "Les derniers jours de l'église d'Orange, 1703-1731," *SHPFBul.*, XXXII (1883), 491, 497; Gaitte, "L'émigration des protestants de la principauté d'Orange sous Louis XIV (1703)," *SHPFBul.* XIX-XX (1870-71), 337. V. L. Bourrilly, "Les protestants de Provence et d'Orange sous Louis XIV," *SHPFBul.*, LXXIV (1925), LXXV (1926), LXXVI (1927).

¹⁴ Mörikofer, pp. 326-29.

Pays de Gex, where many Protestants lived. Even before the revocation these people began pouring over the border in crowds. Upon a single day two thousand arrived in Lausanne alone.¹⁵ Among them were many ministers, who settled in the region and later provided support for the refugee seminary. In the crisis the episcopal palace was made over into a hospice for the poor and ill. When one understands that Gex lost about two-thirds of its population in this sudden migration,¹⁶ he understands also the problems faced by the more or less rural region of Vaud. At least there was room and opportunity for settling many more than could be accommodated in Geneva. A further advantage came from the many similarities of the people on both sides of the border.

Figures taken from a census near the end of the seventeenth century gave these results for the whole canton of Bern: In Lausanne resided 1,505 refugees; in Nyon, 775; Morges, 716; Vevey, 698; Moudon, 275; Aigle, 231; Yverdon, 214; Romainmôtier, 125. Together with those living in Bern the total came to 6,104, over two thousand of whom required some form of assistance.¹⁷ Some of the refugees, on the other hand, were highly placed in society. In addition to the large number of fugitive ministers one may mention aristocrats like the son of Admiral Duquesne and enterprising businessmen like Louis Therme of Nîmes, who started a silk industry in Lausanne.¹⁸ Many other projects, not all of them successful, were undertaken. Besides the places mentioned in the census, Neuchâtel had numerous refugees who were not only accepted but also easily and quickly assimilated into the common life.

The crowning achievement of the visitors in Lausanne was the establishment, beginning in 1727, of a refugee seminary, the chief purpose of which was the training of young ministers for perilous service in the Church of the Desert.¹⁹ The man at the center of this enterprise was none other than the refounder of the Reformed church in France, Antoine Court. Geneva, with its tradition of Calvin's academy, would have been a suitable site except for its proximity to the border and the

¹⁵ See Jules Chavannes, *Les réfugiés français dans le pays de Vaud et particulièrement à Vevey*, p. 20; F. Godet, *Histoire de la Réformation et du refuge dans le pays de Neuchâtel*, p. 254. Théodore Claparède, "Les réfugiés protestants du pays de Gex," *SHPFBul.*, XXIV (1875); A. Crottet, "Les préludes de la révocation de l'édit de Nantes dans le pays de Gex," *SHPFBul.*, I (1853). Guillebert, "Le refuge dans le pays de Neuchâtel, 1685," *SHPFBul.*, III (1855); IV (1856); IX (1860); X (1861).

¹⁶ Mörikofer, pp. 189-90.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 304; cf. Chavannes, pp. 25-26.

¹⁸ See Walter Bodmer, *Der Einfluss der Refugianteneinwanderung von 1550-1700 auf die schweizerische Wirtschaft*, for a careful study of economic influences. Therme is mentioned on p. 129.

¹⁹ Theodor F. Schott, *Die Kirche der Wüste, 1715 bis 1787*, pp. 104 ff.

embarrassment of the French resident. Bern was strong and Zürich was large, but both were too German for these French Protestants. Hence, Lausanne became the location. Courses of study began in 1730. It was a far cry from the former excellent facilities of Saumur, Montauban, Sedan. Students were not able to live together but were lodged in the city. The first classes were held in the rooms of professors. Both basic and theological education was provided. Slowly the little seminary developed intellectual sinews. Court provided vigorous leadership and the spirit that encouraged the young ministers to travel, with forged passports, back into the Desert to serve the hidden congregations in the mountains and forests.

Only a brief summary may be given of the situation of the refugees in the different communities. Circumstances tended to be much the same wherever they settled in Switzerland. In the German-speaking portions, however, there was considerable difficulty. Not only did the language problem reduce communication, but social and cultural differences raised tensions. Bern especially won the reputation for unfriendliness, in spite of its participation on all levels. A series of laws on beggars and indigents (the *Bettelordnungen*) introduced legal problems. The gild organization was particularly tight and powerful. Any help offered, therefore, came in spite of the legal structure and in spite of the gilds. In 1692 an attempt was made actually to expel all refugees in the face of a critical famine.²⁰ But this alleged unfriendliness was by no means universal. Consider the report of Mme du Noyer, who arrived in Bern in March 1686:

When we arrived at the gates of Bern, the guards stopped the carriage. We did not know at first what they wanted to say; but a moment later one of them walked in front and conducted us to the home of Faucon, which is the best in town, and I would not know how to praise enough here the charity of the Swiss, who thus entertained all the refugees who came through their city.²¹

They were put up at the expense of the government and provided with carriages for the journey to Zürich. It may be that Mme du Noyer was not a typical refugee and charmed her hosts.

Most visitors were transients like this lady. In spite of internal opposition and the repeated efforts of France to prevent Swiss action, the cantons continued to give aid. Self-interest was a powerful factor, recognized in Bern as elsewhere. Although this ancient city was not foremost in promoting industrial development, even the city fathers recognized the

²⁰ Imer, p. 21.

²¹ Mörikofer, pp. 204-5.

advantages of infusion of new enterprise and new skills. Considerable industrial and commercial activity may be attributed to the refugees.²² Especially important was the introduction of stocking manufacture by such noted exiles as Jean Roux from Montpellier. To care for the many ailing travelers a major institution was the *Welsche Spital* (*Hôpital français*), which was very active throughout the eighteenth century.²³

The conditions at Zürich were similar to those at Bern, except that economic activity was more lively. Still, the guilds rose in opposition as they had in the other city. The refugees worshiped on Sunday in the Fraumünster under their own pastor. By November of 1685 a consistory had been organized, composed half of refugees and half of Zürich officials. Every year more exiles came through, not many of them to stay permanently. An official tally gives the following: From 3 December 1683 to 8 November 1685, 1,359; to 8 April 1686, 3,944; to 19 December 1686, 3,565; to 10 October 1687, 7,827; to 5 November 1688, 5,580; and to 1 January 1689, 1,070.²⁴ The total was 23,345.

Basel and Schaffhausen were both way stations for transit down the Rhine or through Germany overland to Brandenburg. When the river was open, the favored route was down to Frankfurt and thence eastward or north. Otherwise the way lay overland. In Basel the Huguenots had been given the Dominican church in 1614. For a long time they themselves supported their church work and called their own ministers. But after 1682 the consistory chose the minister. Basel was not outstanding in its service to refugees, always appearing happy to see them on their way down the Rhine. This attitude is in large part explained by the proximity of France. It took considerable courage to receive refugees at all. Schaffhausen, although smaller and less well-to-do, was even more active than Basel as a transit point, for both Rhine and land travelers. They came to these towns not only from other Swiss cities to the south and west but also from Alsace and even from Baden. The resources of little Schaffhausen were frequently strained, as the following letter to Zürich indicates:

We have spent 13,963 florins over and above our share. Our total expense has exceeded 30,000 florins, exceeding our resources. All the refugees pass through here. They arrive sometimes in winter, weak from cold, hunger, fatigue and all sorts of ills. Incapable of continuing on their route, they remain here days, weeks, months, so that we have 2000 awaiting departure.²⁵

²² See on this especially Bodmer, pp. 127 ff.

²³ Wildbolz, pp. 122 ff.

²⁴ Mörikofer, p. 230.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 226, letter dated 18 August 1686.

Throughout Switzerland the organization of refugee life was much the same. There was usually a municipal department—the *Exulantenkammer*—which had general oversight. Subject to its authority was a consistory or *Direction* composed of church members, often with representation from the city. The pastor of the French church was president.²⁶ In Zürich the responsibility of the consistory was spelled out in detail. It was to regulate the entire religious life of the French community, set the services, provide for training classes and prayer services, and especially see that the preaching and teaching went “according to the Scriptures and the French Confession and the Helvetic Confession.”²⁷ Ecclesiastical discipline was to be strictly maintained according to the customs of the French church and the standards of Zürich.

Whether in German- or French-speaking areas, the Huguenot exiles worshiped with relative freedom. This freedom was limited, of course, by the long-standing custom of the Swiss churches to depend on municipal establishment. Sometimes the church could choose its own ministers, sometimes not. An extensive document of 1689 published in Bern indicates the concern for propriety on the part of the authorities.²⁸ In first place in this *Memoire de ce qui se trouve necessairement a reformer parmy les Refugiez* was the warning that the visitors ought not enter the church for worship before the Germans had left. Then everyone ought to come in “before the clock has stopped sounding,” because of the evil habit of “entering from the beginning of the service until the end, which is a cause of scandal.” Men and women should sit separately and observe proper decorum. In fact, “*ils ayent plus de respect dans le Temple qu’ils n’ont eu jusqu’à présent, et qu’ils s’abstiennent de passer sur les bancs, et de mettre leur chapeau avant que d’estre sortis contre toute bienséance, et le respect que l’on doit avoir pour ce saint lieu.*”

The authorities were bent on teaching some lessons in etiquette. The women, the document continued, should show proper modesty in attire and coiffure lest they fall into vanity. Finally, they were adjured to follow the customs of the country in attendance on the Lord’s Table, to “avoid confusion.”

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²⁶ Imer, pp. 86–89; Wildbolz, pp. 155–56.

²⁷ Mörikofer, p. 213.

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not seek directly to gain admission to Swiss society or to associate on a personal and social basis with the natives. Johann Mörikofer, who wrote the most comprehensive study of Reformed refugees in Switzerland, averred that he knew of not a single marriage between the son of an important refugee and the daughter of a native bourgeois family in the period after the revocation.²⁹ Hence the French communities tended to remain to themselves. Even in the French-speaking areas, linguistic and literary pretensions on the part of some of the refugees created tension. As a matter of fact, the influence of the French of the Midi, especially of refugee pastors, had considerable effect on the development of Swiss French.³⁰

It is difficult to generalize on the cultural and moral effect of the refugee movement. Most of the visitors were lower-class persons who had not much to offer in these areas. On the other hand, a surprising number of well-placed and educated persons moved along with the rest. If the authorities in Bern were anxious lest the refugees occasion scandal with loose habits, they might have noted that in many cases the refugees maintained stricter standards of discipline than the natives. After all, that was one of the reasons they had left their homes. Perhaps Chavannes exaggerated when he spoke of them as "*une société d'élite, qui servit de modèle,*"³¹ but this influence ought not to be underrated. Although the uprooted Huguenots had not the wherewithal to establish formal institutions for some time, their efforts were by no means negligible. In Zürich, for example, they had a school for combined general and religious instruction. On Sunday, children studied a French catechism, and on Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, they worked at reading, writing, and mathematics. Every school day there was a chapel service, and on Wednesday, a preaching service. By the spring of 1687 fourteen French clergymen were involved in this educational work. Intellectually the force was in the direction of liberalism. Theological insights seem to be loosened up by the insecurities of exile. Among the leaders were several highly influential individuals like the older Moïse Amyraut and the young Firmin Abauzit, both of whom gained considerable reputation for their liberal and modern outlook.

The career of Abauzit is especially noteworthy. Raised in Uzès, he was taken from his mother at an early age, at the time of the revocation, and placed in a Catholic school. Subsequently both escaped to Geneva, where Firmin received an excellent education. In 1696 he went to Holland and

²⁹ Mörikofer, pp. 232-33.

³⁰ Chavannes, p. 68.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 71.

there associated with Basnage, Bayle, and Jurieu. In England he met Isaac Newton and others and gained renown as a philosopher. Although he was no skeptic, he maintained an open mind, attuned to the new trends of the modern age, and verged upon Unitarianism. He was accomplished in science and mathematics and possessed a rare understanding of the principles on which Newton worked. He was, in short, one of the last of the universal men produced by the spirit of the Renaissance.

The end of the story of refugees in Switzerland leads through the country and down the Rhine or overland to Brandenburg. The cantons were essentially a *Durchgangsland*. From Geneva, Lausanne, Neuchâtel, and Bern the travelers could go by water down the Aare River to the Rhine. Then they had the choice of the Basel or Schaffhausen exits. Or they could travel overland to both places, along the great central valley, unhindered by mountains. The waterway might be dangerous: In 1687 a ship foundered with a drunken crew, and 111 out of 137 refugees were drowned.³² From Basel and Schaffhausen on, the route was uncertain, particularly in time of war. For this reason refugees congregated in these Rhenish cities waiting for convoy. When French troops were devastating the Rhineland in 1688-89, the only possible route was overland from Schaffhausen. Over a period of five years no less than 25,000 persons passed through this little town, which had only 5,000 inhabitants of its own. Then they had to proceed via Lindau, Ulm, Nördlingen, Nürnberg, Frankfurt, or through Tübingen and Stuttgart to Heidelberg. In Frankfurt they were met by representatives of the Great Elector. Some continued on to Holland. In 1699 France gave permission for refugees to travel from Basel down the Rhine to the Palatinate, Hesse, Brandenburg, and Denmark. Between May and October, 4,414 people sailed in thirty-two convoys down the great river.³³ Once in Frankfurt, they encountered further disappointment owing to the failure of England and Holland to provide promised subsidies. Roots once wrenched were hard to put down again!

C. England

Holland and Switzerland were the two lands of major immediate refuge. England played a dual role of both primary and permanent refuge. Many thousands managed to get offshore from ports like La

³² Rudolf Uzler, *Schaffhausen und die französischen Glaubensflüchtlinge*, pp. 45, 18, 47.

³³ Mörikofer, p. 316.

Daaly, and all them that be Hugenettes boothe men and woomen.”⁴⁶ Many Huguenots of the revocation arrived after 1685. For a time they were permitted to worship in Christ Church, but presently they obtained an apartment for their own use in the house of their minister, James Fontaine, who came in 1695. Early in the eighteenth century they built a church.

One of the most interesting settlements was Portarlinton, from its beginning a Huguenot town. Founded in the 1690's, it was French throughout and maintained its French character longer than any other Huguenot community in Ireland. There was a consistory in 1694 and a church building two years later. From 1694 until 1816 the registers were regularly kept in the French language.⁴⁷ Regular worship services continued in French till 1793. This congregation put up a vigorous struggle against efforts to Anglicanize it.

E. The Rhineland

If the far British Isles were one direction of distant expansion, the great plains of Germany were another. Most directly accessible, of course, was the populous Rhine Valley. When its people were able to escape the imperialist pressures of Louis XIV, it provided a series of havens for exiled French Protestants. From the Palatinate on down the Rhine through Hesse and the Rhenish possessions of the Great Elector, communities of French-speaking Protestants were established. The main regions were (1) the upper Rhine, especially the Palatinate, but also Württemberg and the environs of Karlsruhe; (2) the middle Rhine, especially Hessen-Darmstadt and Kassel; and (3) lower Saxony—that is, Hannover, Lüneburg, Braunschweig, etc. Frankfurt am Main and Hanau served as transit points—*Durchgangsorte*—on the middle Rhine; similarly Bremen, Lübeck, and especially Hamburg were way stations for the north. To the east lay the principal region of final refuge, Brandenburg. In this way French influence permeated German life to a surprising degree. As Helmut Erbe put it, “*Der hugenottische Baum steht im deutschen Walde und senkt seine Wurzeln tief in die deutsche Erde hinab.*”⁴⁸ The same author described his subject as an “*Einschmelzungsvorgang*” (“melting-pot event”).

Altogether, the Huguenots of the dispersion in Germany came to a

⁴⁶ Lee, p. 28.

⁴⁷ Printed in HSLPubs., XIX.

⁴⁸ Helmut Erbe, *Die Hugenotten in Deutschland*, p. 10.

total of something over forty thousand, divided almost exactly half and half between the western regions along the Rhine and the various lands of lower Saxony on the one hand and Brandenburg on the other. In this section, then, we are dealing with about half of the total refugee movement to Germany.⁴⁹ The specific provinces with the largest numbers were Hessen-Kassel with 3,800, Rhine-Main with 3,600, Mittelfranken with 3,400, Württemberg with 3,000. Then came electoral Palatinate with 2,000 and the Hanseatic cities and lower Saxony with 1,500 each. Around Baden-Durlach were about a thousand; among these were some Walloons and some Waldenses, although their total numbers would run in excess of the figure given here.

Frankfurt was a key center for the entire movement, except for those who came via the Netherlands through North Sea ports. Perhaps more than a hundred thousand refugees went through at one time or another over a period of twenty years after the revocation. Almost none settled there. The old reputation of the Main city as a refuge, which it had enjoyed in the sixteenth century, no longer held. The old refugees had, as we have seen, been required to move out to the suburbs, especially to Hanau. But this busy entrepôt was indispensable as a way station, a *Durchgangsstadt* for all sorts of movements. Here both the elector of Brandenburg and the landgrave of Hessen-Kassel stationed agents for the organization of migrations. Hamburg was in much the same position—open for travel and business but not willing to offer freedom of worship or settlement. Not until 1787 was freedom of religion finally re-established in Frankfurt. In general the Lutheran influence in these towns was not only strong but rigorous. Twice the whole region suffered from major disruptions of war—the Thirty Years' War and the War of the Palatinate. During these times the refugee movements tended

⁴⁹ In addition to Erbe, for general statistics see Wilhelm Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*, p. 16, and [Karl] Chambeau, *Die Auswirkung der Abwanderung der Hugenotten aus Frankreich und auf Deutschland und die Deutschen*, p. 7. Most of the material in the *Geschichtsblätter* of the Deutscher Hugenotten Verein (beginning with Zehnt I, Heft 1, 1891) is pertinent to our study. Without giving detailed bibliographic reference in individual cases, we commend the following selected articles, most of them on the development of individual colonies, in connection with this and the following section of the chapter: Zehnt I: Magdeburg, Berlin, Erlangen, Otterberg, Bremen, Karlshafen, and "Die hugenottische Kirchenordnung"; II: Annweiler, Halberstadt, Heidelberg, Stade, Celle, Göttingen; III: Altona, Frankenthal, Bückeburg; IV: Mannheim, Rohrbach, Wembach, Hahn; V: Lippe, Wesel, Frankfurt a. d. Oder; VI: Niedersachsen, Friedrichsdorf, Braunschweig; VIII: Hanau, Lüneburg (Hofe), Stuttgart; IX: Neu Isenburg, Zweibrücken, Hameln; X: Hameln; XI: biographies; XII: Cassel, Waldensberg; XIII: Nassau-Schaumburg, Hamburg, Niedersachsen, Orange refugees in Switzerland; XIV: Cleve, Metz; XV: Hameln, Hessen-Cassel, Brandenburg, Königsberg.

Rochelle and Dieppe into English ships and sail directly to English ports. Others transshipped from Holland. In England most settled down to a new life, but some went on to Ireland or to the New World. In any case, when they arrived, they encountered people with long experience in dealing with the offscourings of the Continent. Almost everywhere they found French or Walloon refugee churches already in operation. A few of these dated from the time of Edward VI, most from Elizabeth's reign. The terms of settlement had long been fixed, and precedents had been set for reception of foreigners and accommodation to the established church. The refugees of the revocation were not in a position to strike out in new directions in making deals with their hosts. But they were entitled to benefit from the experience of their forebears of over a century. At the very least they could hope to live in greater security than their compatriots, settled precariously in the estates of Holland or the Swiss cantons. The Strait of Dover presented an effective barrier in those days, even to the Sun King, who was inclined to be impatient with obstacles.

In the early years of the seventeenth century the story was a continuation of that of the Tudor days. The French still worshiped in their old church in Threadneedle Street, the Dutch in Austin Friars. The Elizabethan arrangements were confirmed by the Stuarts. Until Archbishop William Laud attempted to abridge their privileges, the strangers' churches continued to operate as before. The abortive attempt to rescue La Rochelle had no lasting effect. The polished biblical sermons of the French pastor Ézéchiél Marmet impressed the English as well as the French hearers.

But in the mid-thirties Laud began a program of enforced conformity to the liturgy and practice of the Church of England. These measures, which fell heavily on the English Puritans, also affected the refugees. After making a formal visitation of the strangers' churches, the prelate ordered all persons born in England to repair for worship to the local parish church. Only those foreigners who had not been born in England were entitled to worship in the strangers' churches, and even they were instructed to use the Anglican liturgy, translated into French for those in the French churches.³⁴ The regular synod of the French churches, held in 1634, strongly resisted Laud's pressure. The Anglican leader reacted by imprisoning the ministers and closing three churches in Kent. To escape the persecution of Laud 140 families emigrated to America. Thus the controversy stretched down to the time of the Long Parlia-

³⁴ The fullest discussion of these issues is in Schickler, Vol. II. Laud's order p. 24.

ment, when the strangers' churches were able to make common cause with the parliamentary reformers. This was the time when the French prepared the definitive version of the discipline which had first taken form under Laski in 1550, *Police et discipline ecclésiastique observée es églises de la langue françoise recueillies en ce Royaume d'Angleterre sous la protection de notre souverain sire Charles (que Dieu conserve en toute heureuse prospérité) selon qu'elle a été revue en l'an 1641 par le Synod desdites églises*.³⁵ Based on the discipline of Laski, it made specific revisions, which did not change from then on but remained in force in the French churches in England. The original form had had in mind a single unit, autonomous in its government. The second form, that of Gallars, 1560, had adjusted Calvinistic ideals to the requirements of organization under the supervision of the bishop of London. The third, 1588-89, strengthened the consistory and the colloquy, seeking to centralize authority for more effective action against encroachment by the state church. The fourth form, that of 1641, took advantage of the diminution of power in the Anglican establishment to escape from outside control and put into effect a fuller presbyterian church order.

But the period of civil war and commonwealth did not find either Dutch or French churches in a position to advance. They were torn by controversy over political issues and by personal conflicts among both ministers and members.³⁶ In Threadneedle Street were three parties: the conservative royalists, who ignored their presbyterian interests in almost blind allegiance to the king; the moderates, who hoped to secure presbyterian ideals in association with parliamentary reform; and some radicals who favored advanced independent ideas. The latter stirred up trouble by supporting a spiritualizing minister of Guernsey, Jean de la Marche, who was a representative at the Westminster Assembly. There was also the struggle over ministerial leadership, which involved the right of the membership, as over against the consistory, to choose its ministers. The dispute was taken by appeal to secular courts and even to Parliament, attended by all the vindictiveness common to such intramural battles.

Involved in these unpleasant contentions the strangers' churches could not effectively take a position during the complex struggles of the country in which they were guests. When La Marche won control of the London church and began to set forth his radical views, a minority split off. There were also serious controversies in Norwich and Canterbury. The attitude of the French churches to the commonwealth, therefore,

³⁵ Schickler, II, 74-76.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 82 ff.; J. Lindeboom, *Austin Friars*, pp. 154-59.

was confused. Many were by tradition strong royalists, as they had been in France. All the persecution of the Bourbons could not shake their devotion to the king, who was, they argued, being misled by evil advisers. Something of the same attitude prevailed in England. Every other association would incline the French refugees to favor the parliamentary cause. But some of the conservatives found themselves supporting the English king against their English Puritan and Scottish Presbyterian brothers. Gradually they came to realize that their best interests lay with the constitutional side. Leaders like La Marche were quite active in the Westminster Assembly.

After the restoration of the Stuarts the refugee churches were more disposed to accept conformity to the Church of England. They seemed to be too adaptable. English nonconformists like Baxter protested against the naïve support given by the foreign churches to the Restoration. The still royalist-minded refugees did not seem to be able to recognize their true friends.³⁷ A conforming chapel was established at Savoy. Although the Act of Uniformity specifically relieved foreign churches of the effects of the regulations, there were countless difficulties. In the midst of these troubles, which beset English Puritans and foreigners alike, the great fire of 1666 destroyed the historic church of St. Anthony's Chapel in Threadneedle Street, along with many of the other famous landmarks. A new church was built on the same location, torn down in 1841 to make room for the new general post office. Thereupon the congregation removed to their quarters in Soho. Austin Friars, on the other hand, survived in its cramped site in old London until destroyed by the bombs of World War II. A new church was then erected on the same site.

The refugee churches benefited from the Declaration of Indulgence, 1672, although the king was little concerned over that effect. Colloquies and synods had already been stopped. In spite of an obvious reluctance, on 28 July 1681 Charles II was induced to issue an order in council in favor of the foreign refugees who were beginning to stream into England as the program for religious unification of the nation got under way in France. At this time the strangers' churches were widespread in England. The chief center, of course, was London. One of the oldest outside the capital was Canterbury, refounded in 1561 on the basis of an original congregation dating from Edward's time. They worshiped still in the crypt of the great cathedral. The membership grew notably, from 900 in 1634 to 2,500 in 1676.³⁸ The church at Sandwich had also been founded

³⁷ Cf. David C. Agnew, *Protestant Exiles from France in the Reign of Louis XIV*, I, 32.

³⁸ Weiss, p. 210, summarizes the distribution here.

in the time of Elizabeth but never became large. That of Norwich, however, founded in 1564, containing both French and Walloons, was more important and served, along with the Dutch refugee church of the same city, as a strong point of refugee settlement. Southampton, Glastonbury, Rye, Winchelsea, Dover, Feversham, Whittlesey, Thorney Abbey (Cambridge), Sandtoft (Lincolnshire), and Ipswich all had French refugee churches. The Dutch were less widely scattered. In London itself, in addition to Threadneedle Street, there were congregations in Savoy (founded in 1641 as a result of schism engineered by Benjamin de Rohan, duke of Douville), Marylebone (under Cromwell), and Castle Street (under Charles II).

When the refugees from the *dragonnades* in Poitou began to press into England, King Charles issued his declaration permitting them entry under favorable circumstances. He may not have had his heart in it, because he was continuing to receive a pension from Louis XIV and of course was no committed Protestant. The edict of 28 July, however, was quite generous in the terms of admission and settlement. The accession of James II did not affect the refugees adversely. When the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was put into effect, the way remained open for many thousands who sought refuge in England. Almost immediately the four old churches of London were crowded to the doors. A new church, the Chapel of the Hospital in Spitalfields, was opened in 1688. From time to time others became necessary, until twenty-six more had been added, most of them during the reigns of William III, Anne, and George I.³⁹

About two-thirds of the new refugees scattered to other parts of England. Many joined the existing churches, but new churches were formed—Greenwich, Chelsea, Hammersmith, Thorpe, Bristol, Plymouth, Stonehouse, Exeter, Dartmouth, Barnstaple, and Bideford. Some of the refugees, after a brief stay in England, went on to Scotland and Ireland. The movement lasted from 1681, when an open boat filled with refugees appeared at Plymouth, through the rest of the century. In 1687, 13,500 refugees were helped in London.⁴⁰ Most were artisans, possessed of the skills which had already enriched England in earlier movements. But among them also were about 150 ministers and almost 300 teachers and professional persons.

³⁹ These are listed in *ibid.*, pp. 216–17. Cf. Schickler, II, 311 ff.

⁴⁰ Poole, p. 81; Charles E. Lart, "The Huguenot Settlements and Churches in the West of England," *HSLProc.*, VII (1901–4), 286–98; Florence Layard, "The Huguenots in North Britain," *HSLProc.*, III (1888–91), 24–41.

A key figure was Henry Savile, English ambassador in Paris during the crucial years. His papers reveal much concern over the persecutions and an interest in opening England as a refuge. He strongly urged a provision for naturalization of such French Protestants as sought a haven in the Isles. Another political (and military) factor was the presence of many refugees in the army of William of Orange when he came over to claim his English throne. Altogether about fifty thousand settled in England.

For a time, especially following the Glorious Revolution, the refugee churches exerted a larger influence on the English establishment, which was now pressed to identify itself with its Protestant rather than its Catholic heritage. Famous preachers in London, like Allix, Abbadie, and Saurin, were heard and heeded. Within the churches themselves two strains, in tension, were manifest. The one continued the Reformed emphasis provided in the first place by Jan Laski in the time of Edward VI. The other accepted moderate conformity to the Anglican pattern. Undoubtedly social factors played a large part in the determination of attitudes, although this assertion would be difficult to document. Narrow "sectarianism" could be distasteful to a successful Huguenot leader in business or public affairs. A revised translation of the Book of Common Prayer into French was published in 1662 and used in the Savoy and certain other French churches. But the psalter continued to follow the Genevan form. Most Huguenots were with the Dissenters in rejection of the Apocrypha and saints' days.

While the French refugee churches went through a radical shock in the last decades of the seventeenth century, the Dutch churches continued a more placid course. Austin Friars remained strong and influential in leadership of the entire Dutch community.⁴¹ The communities of Sandwich, Colchester, and Norwich lasted to the end of the seventeenth century, but most of the others folded up. The last Dutch service in Norwich was held in 1919. Austin Friars, of course, is still in existence.

D. Ireland and Scotland

A secondary area of settlement lay in the north of Great Britain and in Ireland. A few refugees made their way to Scotland, settled in Edinburgh, and gave to one quarter of the city and nickname of Picardy. Apparently this French community suffered from lack of leadership and

⁴¹ See Lindeboom, *passim*.

educated members. In 1707, four hundred families lived there, mostly Flemish Walloon weavers.⁴²

In Ireland, however, the communities were more numerous, widespread, and influential. The duke of Ormond, viceroy in Ireland under Charles II, strongly encouraged the coming of French refugees. He provided generous terms of settlement and advertised directly in France. Although he permitted Calvinistic congregations to be formed, especially in the north, he made clear his preference for those churches which conformed to the usages of the Church of Ireland (Anglican). As usual the Irish had nothing to say about any of these arrangements. Most of the settlements came after the revocation, although a few groups were in existence for a long time before. One plan which fell through was a project supported by William III to transport French refugees from Switzerland to Ireland in the 1690's. There is extant a proposal by the baronne de Chambrier, "*Project de colonisation en Irlande par les refugies français 1692-99.*"⁴³ A bill to permit this project was introduced in Parliament but failed of passage, and the whole idea was abandoned in 1693.

Altogether ten Huguenot churches were established in Ireland: four in Dublin, two in Cork, one each in Lisburn, Portarlington, Carlow, and Waterford. In addition there were ministers in Dundalk, Wexford, Innishannon, Clonmel, and Kilkenny.⁴⁴ Dublin, the capital and chief city, attracted the largest settlements. Two of the churches, worshipping in St. Mary's Chapel in St. Patrick's Cathedral and in the French Church of St. Mary in St. Mary's Abbey, followed the Common Prayer of the Church of Ireland. The other two, the chapels in Peter Street and Lucas Lane, were nonconforming Presbyterian. The chapel in the cathedral had been designated for French worship ever since 1665. The lord lieutenant himself had attended the first formal worship service.⁴⁵ Even the conforming congregations, however, enjoyed some degree of freedom to follow the French form of discipline, control admission to membership, and choose their ministers.

Problems associated with foreigners in Cork went back to 1569, when a demand was made that the government "should aboolessh oute of that cittie that old heresy, newly raised and invented, and namely Barnaby

⁴² See Arnold Fleming, *Huguenot Influence in Scotland*. Also D. E. Easson, "French Protestants in Edinburgh," *HSLProc.*, XVIII (1947-52), 325-44.

⁴³ Printed in *HSLProc.*, VI, 370 ff.

⁴⁴ The standard study is Grace L. Lee, *Huguenot Settlements in Ireland*. See also D. L. Savory, "The Huguenot-Palatine Settlements in the Counties of Limerick, Kerry and Tipperary," *HSLProc.*, XVIII (1947-52), 111-33, 215-31.

⁴⁵ The registers of these churches have been printed in *HSLPubs.*, VII, XIV.

to be away from rather than toward the Rhine. Although Frankfurt itself was not very friendly, neighboring Hanau, with its older refugee communities of both French and Dutch, was more eager to help. The Treaty of Westphalia, which was supposed to open toleration throughout for the Reformed, was not universally honored. Nevertheless, these communities in the twenty years after 1685 served for longer or shorter periods no less than 97,816 French refugees.⁵⁰ In addition, new colonies sprang up nearby in Friedrichsdorf, Homburg, and Isenburg. Hanau, with its close relations to the prince, who retained his title of *Oberinspector* of the strangers' churches, was more favored than Frankfurt politically, but it did not have the resources of the larger city down the Main.⁵¹ The tensions between the refugee churches and the government did not prevent participation in the great work of helping the refugees of the revocation.⁵²

One region of historic refugee settlement was the Palatinate. It served as a haven again in 1685, although devastated once more in the Rhenish campaigns of Louis XIV. Another special location was Erlangen, where about a thousand French exiles settled in a "New Town," thus greatly stimulating the economic life of the region. Another specific settlement on the upper Rhine was near Karlsruhe. Unfortunately, many of those who settled in these places after the revocation were driven out again when hostilities flooded over the Rhine in 1688.

Somewhat more stable were the communities in Hesse. Some were offshoots of Frankfurt-Hanau settlements. Neu-Isenburg, for example, composed of mixed Huguenots and Waldenses, held its first service of worship in 1700.⁵³ It was soon possible to build a church. Three waves of French settlement ran over Hesse: (1) that of 1685 ff.; (2) that following the Peace of Ryswick, 1697, when thirteen thousand refugees poured into Germany; and (3) a movement of 1720 from Württemberg and Baden. The young landgrave, Charles I, who ruled the small state of about 350,000 people, was a Calvinist and ambitious to strengthen his lands. Even before the revocation he sent out an offer to receive refugees on favorable terms, similar to the Edict of Potsdam. A few came early, but the crowd arrived the following spring, soon numbering about three

⁵⁰ Friedrich C. Ebrard, *Die Französisch-reformierte Gemeinde in Frankfurt am Main (1554-1904)*, p. 123.

⁵¹ J. B. Leclercq, *Une église réformée au 17^e siècle*, pp. 38-44.

⁵² F. W. Cuno, "Geschichte der wallonisch-reformirten Gemeinde zu Hanau a. M.," *DHVGbl.*, VIII (1898), Heft 1.

⁵³ Poole, p. 134. André Paul, "Les réfugiés huguenots et wallons dans le Palatinat du Rhin du xvi^e siècle à la Révolution," *Revue historique*, CLVII (1928); 264-76; Charles-Frédéric Rousselet, "La colonie huguenotte de Friedrichsdorf," *HSLProc.*, V (1894-96).

thousand. The most important community was in Kassel itself, where the refugees built another of those "New Towns" so significant for the economic life of the region. There were many other smaller settlements scattered around the Hessian lands. Especially noteworthy was little Friedrichsdorf, not far north of Frankfurt, which long retained a strong French flavor. Mixed in with these French were also numerous Waldenses.

The varied provinces of lower Saxony, on both sides of the Weser River, comprised another area for Huguenot settlement,⁵⁴ mainly in Hameln, Bückeburg, Hannover, Braunschweig, Celle, Lüneburg. Almost all the settlers were refugees of the revocation, plus a few Waldenses and some Orangemen, and some Walloons who came in from the northwest. A number of the towns had their origin before the revocation, but the real history begins after 1685. Altogether about 1,500 settled in these various communities, although, if uncertain references be counted, probably as many as 1,650 came.⁵⁵ Records of receptions show that most were artisans—stocking makers, woolworkers, cloth weavers, hatmakers, glove-makers. There were also merchants and teachers, and twenty-two were ministers. Of interest is the fact that in Hameln, unlike the rest of Germany, the Lutheran church opened its doors to the Reformed refugees.⁵⁶ The duke of Braunschweig-Hannover was a tolerant-minded Lutheran. Celle (Zell) was also an important center.

F. Brandenburg

Of all the German lands the most renowned for its aid to the Huguenot exiles was Brandenburg, over which the Great Elector Frederick William ruled with a patriarchal hand. The desperation of the refugees was matched by the economic need of his lands, many of which had been devastated in the wars and still lay desolate. Magdeburg had not yet recovered from the Thirty Years' War.

French refugees had settled in Berlin for several decades before the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, ever since 1661.⁵⁷ Enough had gathered

⁵⁴ See Beuleke, *Die Hugenotten in Niedersachsen*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

⁵⁶ Poole, p. 72.

⁵⁷ Jean P. Erman and Reclam, *Mémoires pour servir à l'histoire des réfugiés français dans les États du Roi*, I, 58. Erman and Reclam, along with Eugène and Émile Haag, *La France protestante, ou vies des protestants français qui se sont fait un nom dans l'histoire* (Paris, 1846-59, 10 vols.), and the basic source, Charles Ancillon, *Histoire de l'établissement des réfugiés dans les états de son Altesse Electorale de Brandebourg*, provide exhaustive information, particularly on individual persons and families. A more recent monograph is that by Werner Grieshammer, *Studien zur Geschichte der*

to begin worship services in 1672. About one hundred persons were recorded members until 1685. As tensions rose over the expansionist policies of the French king and as persecution of Huguenots became more severe after 1681, Elector Frederick William of Brandenburg was one of the key European figures standing in the way of French policy. Two months before the revocation he broke relations with France. The publication of the revocation, on the other hand, hastened the formation of the League of Augsburg which brought on the next war. Thus the famous Edict of Potsdam, published on 29 October 1685, by which Frederick William invited refugees to settle in his realms, was a document of considerable political significance also. It is one of the classic statements of toleration and concern for persecuted refugees.⁵⁸ Charles Ancillon waxed almost maudlin in his eulogy of the generosity of their benefactor, saying near the beginning of his eyewitness history,

Frideric Guillaume Electeur de Brandenburg, de glorieuse & d'heureuse mémoire, a signalé sa Charité dans cette occasion, car au lieu que les autres Souverains se sont contentez de recevoir dans leurs Etats ceux qui s'y sont retirez, & leur accorder leur Protection; Il les a appellez & a pourvû à leurs besoins de la maniere que nous le dirons dans la suite. Il ne leur a parû un Arbre infructueux.⁵⁹

The Edict of Potsdam consists of fourteen articles following a brief introduction stating that this welcome is extended to those "who unhappily suffer for the Gospel and the purity of the faith which we confess along with them" ("*qui souffrent malheureusement pour l'Evangile et pour la purité de la foi, que Nous confessons avec eux*"). King Louis XIV took umbrage at the phrase "*les persecutions et les rigoureuses procedures*" alleged to have occurred in his kingdom. The first articles announced detailed instructions for care of exiles in transit, via Amsterdam and Hamburg or along the Rhine, to Brandenburg, or to the elector's Rhenish possessions, Cleve and Mark. They were granted the usual exemptions from customs and taxes, given possession of such abandoned houses as were available, offered help in building houses on open land, lodged rent free up to four years in available houses while the building was progressing, promised civil rights and freedom

Refugiés in Brandenburg-Preussen bis 1713. A copy of the rare Ancillon volume is in the British Museum. There are copies of the Grieshammer dissertation in the University of Strasbourg and in the Midwest Library Center, Chicago.

⁵⁸ The text may be found in Erman and Reclam, I, 129-41, Grieshammer, pp. 36-38, and Philip Schaff, *Progress of Religious Freedom*, pp. 116-18.

⁵⁹ Ancillon, p. 4.

of trade, granted lands for cultivation, assured due process of law in disputes, assigned a pastor supported by state funds and a place to worship "according to the customs and with the same ceremonies which they had followed in France," and, to such nobles as chose to enter the elector's service, rendered full rights and privileges. These privileges were extended not only to the present refugees but to such as might come later, if they were also refugees for conscience' sake. Finally, the elector specifically ordered all his governors and officials in all his provinces to cooperate fully in the settlement and maintenance of the newcomers, "and not to permit any wrong or injustice to be done them but rather to give them all favor, aid, and assistance."

Under such specific and generous provisions those French exiles who managed to make their way to Brandenburg and its connected provinces were fortunate indeed. The way there was by no means smooth, as we have seen. The first obstacle was the dangerous operation of escaping from France. Then they had to make contact with the elector's agents in Amsterdam or Frankfurt.⁶⁰ Then came the hard overland journey, especially for those who went to the Mark itself and for those who settled far away in Königsberg. In spite of the good wishes of the elector, getting settled in new homes on land long neglected was not easy.⁶¹ The elector's edict suggested various provinces which they might most readily colonize, some of them in his Rhenish possessions and most of them around Berlin, in the old Mark, and even in East Prussia. One trouble was the intricate political geography of central Germany, with its many small states and complex borders. The roads themselves were inadequate. The north-south river systems of the Weser, Elbe, and Oder, did not much help east-west travel.

The implementation of all the regulations was given into the hands of the elector's minister, M. de Grumbkau, who worked assiduously at the complicated task.⁶² He had to arrange for administration of justice among the refugees themselves and between them and their German neighbors. A French judge presided over cases between Frenchmen and either a German or a French judge in cases between Germans and French. Appeals could be received in Berlin.⁶³ A physician was appointed for each colony, and a French hospital was established in Berlin.⁶⁴ An impressive effort was made to provide education at all levels. A college

⁶⁰ Erman and Reclam, I, 283 ff.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 308 ff. Cf. Grieshammer, p. 39.

⁶² Ancillon, p. 25.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, pp. 76, 81, 86.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 120 ff., 131, 146, 300.

(*Königliche Französische Gymnasium*) was created in Berlin, and a series of lower schools gave a basic education. Most of this took place in the French language. A French *bourse* offered help to needy refugees.

Quite varied were the types of immigrants, from highly placed aristocrats to peasant farmers. Perhaps the most distinguished was the duke of Schomberg, who was renowned in military service. Another was the count of Beauveau, who founded the French church in Berlin. Many well-known ministers came to Brandenburg, such as David Ancillon from Metz, father of the historian Charles Ancillon, and Jacques Abbadie. One of the outstanding aspects of the refugee contribution to the realms of the elector was the military service offered not only by commanding figures like the duke of Schomberg but also by the many who enlisted in French units, such as the electoral bodyguard, the Grands Mousquetaires, the Grenadiers à Cheval, the Régiments de Varennes and de Loton.⁶⁵ Probably far more significant in the long run were the many skilled workers and merchants who revived trade and brought prosperity to lands long impoverished.⁶⁶ This was encouraged by the policy of permitting free entry into the guilds without requirements of any examination, masterpiece, or payment. Ten thousand workmen made quite a difference in the economic life of the growing electorate!

As noted above, French refugees had worshiped in Berlin for several years before the revocation. They had a service of their own, but it was regulated more strictly according to the order of the Reformed church of Brandenburg. Now, with the incursion of thousands of new refugees, the Edict of Potsdam provided a new basis for church life; according to Article XI: "*Dans chaque Ville Nous entretiendrons un Ministre François, et ferons assigner un lieu propre pour y faire l'exercice de la Religion selon les coutumes et avec les mesmes ceremonies qui se sont pratiqué jusques à present parmy eux en France.*" This was a new freedom: "to worship according to the customs and the same ceremonies which have been practiced up to now among them in France." Frederick William's equivocation in matters of religion ceased with the publication of the edict, although complete freedom was not yet. Formerly, the elector had

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 60. Erman and Reclam give extended attention to the various types: II, military; III, nobles, literary, and ministers. Haag is an alphabetical encyclopedia. Erman and Reclam's six categories are: (1) military, (2) gentlemen, (3) men of letters, (4) merchants, (5) workers, (6) indigent and infirm.

⁶⁶ Ancillon, pp. 211-59 for manufacturing, 259-79 for trade, 279-84 for laborers and vineyard culture. "*Tous les Marchands & Artisans entrent, si bon leur semble, dans les Corps ou Communautés Allemandes de leur Profession, sans qu'ils soient obligés de subir aucun Examen, de faire aucun Chef-d'oeuvre, ni de payer aucun Droit*" (p. 264).

interfered more directly in the church order of the refugees, and they had not been able to establish a full presbyterian system. The elector appointed the preacher. In fact, he was officially referred to in one document as "*notre Evesque* [bishop] *et notre Souverain*."⁶⁷ Elders in 1674 were appointed by the minister, not elected by the congregation, and the elders functioned more like deacons. When Abbadie came as second minister, he received his appointment from the elector, and was ordained in the cathedral by two German ministers, while the congregation took no active part at all. By 1684 many French Reformed practices had been admitted, although the *Discipline ecclésiastique* was not yet official.

The actual language of the Edict of Potsdam implied establishment of the full standard of French Protestantism, including the Confession of Faith and the Ecclesiastical Discipline. But it was not spelled out in so many words. No form of church government was explicitly described. As a result there was some uncertainty and conflict.⁶⁸ In Berlin refugees settled inside the city and also in the suburbs. Hence two churches were organized, one inside and one outside, served by nine ministers. Each church had two services on Sundays, plus one on Wednesday in the city and one on Thursday in the suburbs. Prayer meetings were held in the city Tuesdays and Fridays. The conflict arose over the order of the older church, which had been along lines of the German church, and the newer, with its thousands of new members, which would follow the French church order. By 1689 these difficulties had been ironed out.

The central example of the church in Berlin was definitive for all the refugee churches. But a full organization of presbyterian colloquies and synods did not follow. In 1689 the elector gave it out as his intention to permit organization of colloquies and synods "when and if he finds it appropriate" ("*quand et ainsi qu'elle [sa Altesse] le trouvera à propos*") and to extend to all the French churches that discipline and order which prevailed in Berlin.⁶⁹ Only the latter provision was carried into effect. Instead, an ecclesiastical commission was set up, consisting of four members, two governmental officials and two French ministers, which functioned under the authority of the state church. At the beginning of the eighteenth century this commission became a *Consistoire Supérieur*, with extensive authority over all the strangers' churches. After Berlin the largest churches were those of Halle, Magdeburg, and Frankfurt on Oder with three ministers each. Magdeburg had been terribly hurt by the Thirty Years' War. The arrival of French exiles marked almost a

⁶⁷ Grieshammer, p. 42.

⁶⁸ Ancillon, pp. 41-42, 64-67.

⁶⁹ Grieshammer, p. 50.

rebirth of the city. The convenient transportation afforded by the Elbe River made possible active commercial connection with Hamburg. Halle received many vigorous workers who made the city a rival of Leipzig. To Frankfurt on Oder came numerous young refugees for study at the university at the expense of the elector.

Far to the west in the Rhenish territories Cleve and Wesel, haven of Dutch and Walloon refugees way back in the sixteenth century, received many French. There were two ministers at Wesel and one at Cleve. In Pomerania to the northeast too came several hundred refugees, especially after 1698. They had two ministers in the little town of Prenslô, where they followed their work with tobacco, hemp, linen, etc. In Königsberg more fugitives were to be found, although in small numbers because of the distance from both France and the elector. One minister served a small congregation. Other scattered congregations existed in the electoral lands.

Most renowned of the ministers who settled in Brandenburg was Jacques Abbadie, from Béarn. Educated in theology at Saumur and Sedan, he won a doctor's degree at the age of seventeen. The count de Beauveau invited him to Berlin, where he served as minister of the church. He became widely known from his *Treatise of the Truth of the Christian Religion*. Unlike many literary works of refugees, it was no complaint of persecution but a noble presentation of Christianity. Abbadie was only one of a bevy of noted religious and literary persons who adorned the Great Elector's court. Few countries of Europe were more deeply influenced at all levels by the migrations of the revocation than was Brandenburg, even then in process of growing in stature, one day to become the Prussian heart of the German Empire.

G. Scandinavia and East Europe

Brief notice may be taken of exiled communities in the more remote sections of Europe, Scandinavia and Russia. A few hundred made their way to Denmark under invitation from King Christian V. But here, as elsewhere in Scandinavia, they encountered continual and unrelenting opposition from the regular Lutheran clergy and the ecclesiastical establishment. If the governmental authorities were important enough, however, they were able to settle in relative peace. Some came to Copenhagen itself, worshiped in a private house, and later obtained a church of their own with the help of German friends. When the church burned in 1731, they built another.

More interesting was the French colony in Sweden, principally at Stockholm. An influential leader was Louis de Geer, whose father had fled from Liège to Amsterdam. Most of the refugees here were of Walloon background.⁷⁰ With permission of Gustavus Adolphus they settled around Stockholm, and at Finspong. When King Charles IX required them to have their babies baptized in the Lutheran church, some of them returned to Holland. Although the Lutheran clergy were strong in opposition, they managed to survive. As one pastor wrote to the synod at Delft in 1662, "*C'est ainsi que ceste rose est environnée de beaucoup d'épines et que ce n'est qu'au milieu de beaucoup de difficultés que nostre religion se conserve en Suède.*"⁷¹ Later on, Charles XII gave more complete freedom of religion, although political factors still interfered. By 1715 the French church in Stockholm had achieved a full organization on presbyterian lines, including a consistory. Not until 1741, however, did the members hold public worship, and not until 1751 did they have a church of their own.

A good deal is known about the church life of this community. The consistory enjoyed the power to apply strict ecclesiastical discipline at the crucial point of admission to the Lord's Supper. Attendance at worship was required, but admission to the sacrament was only by specific permission.⁷² The consistory functioned as a sort of court for the refugees in their disputes and failings. In one case an acrimonious⁷³ widow complained against her pastor and gained the support of the Dutch minister. The pastor had the satisfaction of seeing her withdraw to join the Dutch church. One Jacques Fleury was excommunicated for making up uncomplimentary verses about Calvin. For those who remained in good standing the service of worship was simple but impressive. The Lord's Supper was distributed to the people by tables, at which no more than six persons were gathered at one time. They used the French psalter and began singing psalms in mid-eighteenth century. Swedish law did not permit baptisms and marriages in their services, but only in private houses.

There was also a very small Alsatian Lutheran refugee church.

In Slavic lands French refugees did not easily penetrate, nor did they want to, being so far from France and in such alien culture. Nevertheless tiny Huguenot communities started up in both St. Petersburg and

⁷⁰ See J. A. F. Puaux, *Histoire de l'établissement des protestants français en Suède*, pp. 36, 45.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 118-25.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 122: "*qu'elle était de ces veuves importunes qui troublent tout.*"

Moscow, although not in the former new city until later. Free entry was promised in 1689, together with freedom of worship. Moscow had both French and Dutch congregations. The Western influences which were so strong in St. Petersburg encouraged foreign settlement. A French church existed here from 1723.

H. Around the World

The force of the Huguenot dispersion was so strong that a minority were propelled entirely outside Europe to far corners of the world. The colonies were of two types: Dutch and English. In effect these movements were safety valves to relieve the pressure of immigration in the mother countries. Our task in this section is simplified because the story of refugees in America belongs in a later chapter.

Before the publication of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes the Dutch East India Company announced its willingness to provide passage to the Cape Colony in South Africa to any French Protestants who wished to farm or engage in trade. About eighty families sailed under these conditions. One group left Holland at the end of 1687 and after seven months arrived at the Cape. Most of them were settled several miles north in a section known as French Valley (De Fransche Hoek). Here, between mountains to north and south, several villages were developed. In one of them, Drachenstein, the first French church was built.⁷⁴ De Fransche Hoek was also the name of another village. The largest community was called La Perle, the center of rich agricultural activity. Wheat and fruit trees were cultivated successfully. Services were conducted in French until 1739, when the Dutch authorities forbade the practice. After the middle of the eighteenth century few spoke French. Old French Bibles and perhaps a copy of Clément Marot's *Psalms*, together with remnants of French names and a strict moral behavior, are the only things left that are French of the Huguenot settlements. Two of their members have served as chief justice, and both General Smuts and President Malan were French on their mothers' side.

A smaller Dutch extension settlement brought refugees to Surinam, Dutch Guiana. A few hundred sailed to Paramaribo before the revocation, and more came in 1686. From the Dutch point of view the migration was simply a project for the development of a wilderness colony. Two later governors were products of this French colony, and several

⁷⁴ The chief source for this section is Weiss, pp. 456 ff.

families became quite wealthy. The district cleared by them still bears the name given by their more pious ancestors—Providence. An unexpected aspect of refugee life was the concern expressed by some of the pastors for the conversion of the Indians, who were extremely primitive. In 1697 Pierre Saurin left his studies at Bois-le-Duc to devote himself to their conversion.

The account of Huguenot settlements in America, beginning with the early and abortive sixteenth-century expeditions, belongs in a later chapter. Suffice it to say at this point that all through the seventeenth century, migrations occurred as French refugees in England found it desirable to move on because of the persecutions of Laud and the confusions attendant upon the Restoration. In the 1680's the larger migrations took place, until New Rochelle in New York and the French community of Charleston, South Carolina, were thriving and populous. Many of the participants in the Continental Congress, including three of the presidents thereof, as well as John Jay, second chief justice of the United States, were descendants of the Huguenots. But that is another story.

I. Conclusions on Influence and Importance

One characteristic that permeated the entire dispersion was an almost universal desire to return to France. It was a long time before the Huguenots were willing to give up the possibility—and the desirability—of going back home. Many other refugees have demonstrated the same strong motivation for return, exhibited successfully in the Waldenses of the Glorious Return and most unsuccessfully but none the less bitterly and persistently by the Arab refugees of the twentieth century. Granting the possibility of return, the next desire was freedom of religion, which to the Huguenots meant the right of public worship and administration of discipline—that is, actually biblically grounded forms of worship and discipline pointed up in the observance of the Lord's Supper as practiced in Geneva. The refugees obtained these rights in varying degrees at different times. Rarely had they the complete freedom they yearned for. But in general they were able to take with them and demonstrate to their hosts, who might or might not be sympathetic, their Calvinistic theology and their presbyterian church order. Whether any of these exhibitions became "model churches" is doubtful. Few men felt the need of models by the end of the seventeenth century.

One typical aspect of worship during the refuge was fasting. This solemn service, which was engaged in repeatedly, was designed with two

purposes in mind: (1) the appeasement of the wrath of God, of which the people were well aware, and (2) a change of heart in the French king. No form of worship was more natural to the situation of the refugee than the fast. More symbolic of the heart of adoration of God as they saw it, however, was the observance of the Lord's Supper. If they could worship according to their Genevan-Gallican ritual, and especially if they could associate this observance with the maintenance of discipline through tight regulations for admission to the Lord's Table, they rested secure in the knowledge that they were remaining faithful to the Lord in the midst of adversity, even though all else be gone. Much of the effort of the pastors-in-refuge was directed toward maintenance of this principle.

A listing of these ministers—Jacques Abbadie, Pierre Allix, Jacques Basnage, Claude Brousson, Jean Claude, Pierre du Bosc, Pierre Jurieu, Jacques Saurin—is a listing of some of the most accomplished men of the age. If one adds the philosophers and writers who also affected the world outlook, men like Pierre Bayle and Möise Amyraut, a fine assembly is presented. The influence of these pastors and the literary figures who associated with them was considerable. Erich Haase⁷⁵ has spoken of a *vergessene Randliteratur* composed of the able writings of the authors in exile. Bayle is an exception to the rule that the productions of such men have been ignored in the common concern with national literature. They may have received a sort of vague immortality in the biography of the refuge, but their contributions have not been considered on their own merits. The interplay of influences as they scattered to this country or that and hence made contacts of this or that kind is most interesting. A process of "individualization" (*Individualisierung*) set in, with a diversity of results.

In Holland, for example, a wild variety of literary, philosophical, and religious forces affected them. Calvinists and Arminians, Socinians and Anabaptists, Jews, Spinoza, and the Cabalists, along with a variety of other spiritualist types—all provided a most colorful and stimulating variety of forces at work on the French victims of persecution. Jurieu had an exciting field in which to call his brethren to become "*saints athlètes de Dieu*." In Germany the forces were less diverse but none the less important: Leibniz, the strong rationalist impacts of the Enlightenment, and, of not nearly so much consequence for the refugees, pietism. The work of Spener and the establishment of the university at Halle had little effect on the dour Calvinists. The same Enlightenment was influential also in England, where religious freedom and denominationalism were

⁷⁵ *Einführung*, p. 24.

coming to full expression. The figure of John Locke, with his theories of government, his modern philosophy, and his *Letters on Toleration*, was powerfully at work among the visitors from across the Channel.

Thus a peculiar contradictory process is observable. The experience of going under pressure into exile with the loss of all possessions at the risk of life tended to strengthen the bonds of faith which had commanded this act of devotion. Calvinism in these circumstances would become stronger and more rigid. But that experience also brought the refugee into contact with all the manifold influences of the outside world, with the result that the old adherence to strict predestination was loosened and in some cases, abandoned as too heavy a burden for Christian devotion in times of stress. For the same reasons the new rationalistic forces had fuller play with their elements of skepticism and liberalism. This may help to explain why uncompromising Jurieu struck out so violently against all opposition, even against his brethren in exile.

In some areas the refugees played a very active role. In political theory, for example, the work of Abbadie, Élie Merlat, Jean Claude, and above all Pierre Jurieu—to say nothing of the exceptional Bayle—was outstanding.⁷⁶ The background of this thinking lay twofold in the French past: on the one hand, the long tradition of loyalty to royalty which not even persecution by an absolutist Bourbon could shake; on the other, the equally long tradition of resistance to tyranny which at one time brought out theories of the right of revolution. An exponent of the first view was Élie Merlat, who was so royalist that even as a refugee pastor in Lausanne after personal experience in a French prison he was able to defend (in his *Traité de pouvoir absolu des souverains*) the authority of the French king in matters of religion. No absolutism, he averred, could be so bad as rebellion. A tyrant is to be seen as a visitation of a just God upon men for their sins. In effect, he would justify Louis XIV and reject William of Orange. More typical of the refugee philosophers was Jean Claude.

After the death of the latter in 1687, Jurieu named himself "*le seul défenseur de nos vérités*," a description echoed by his archantagonist, Bossuet, who called him "*le seul défenseur de la religion protestante*." Jurieu's prime purpose as a Christian minister was the defense of the true faith. He would limit the powers of monarchy, not on the grounds of natural right, but rather for the welfare of the Christian faith and people. For the same reason he was apparently inconsistent on religious freedom. He opposed Catholic persecution of Protestants but supported

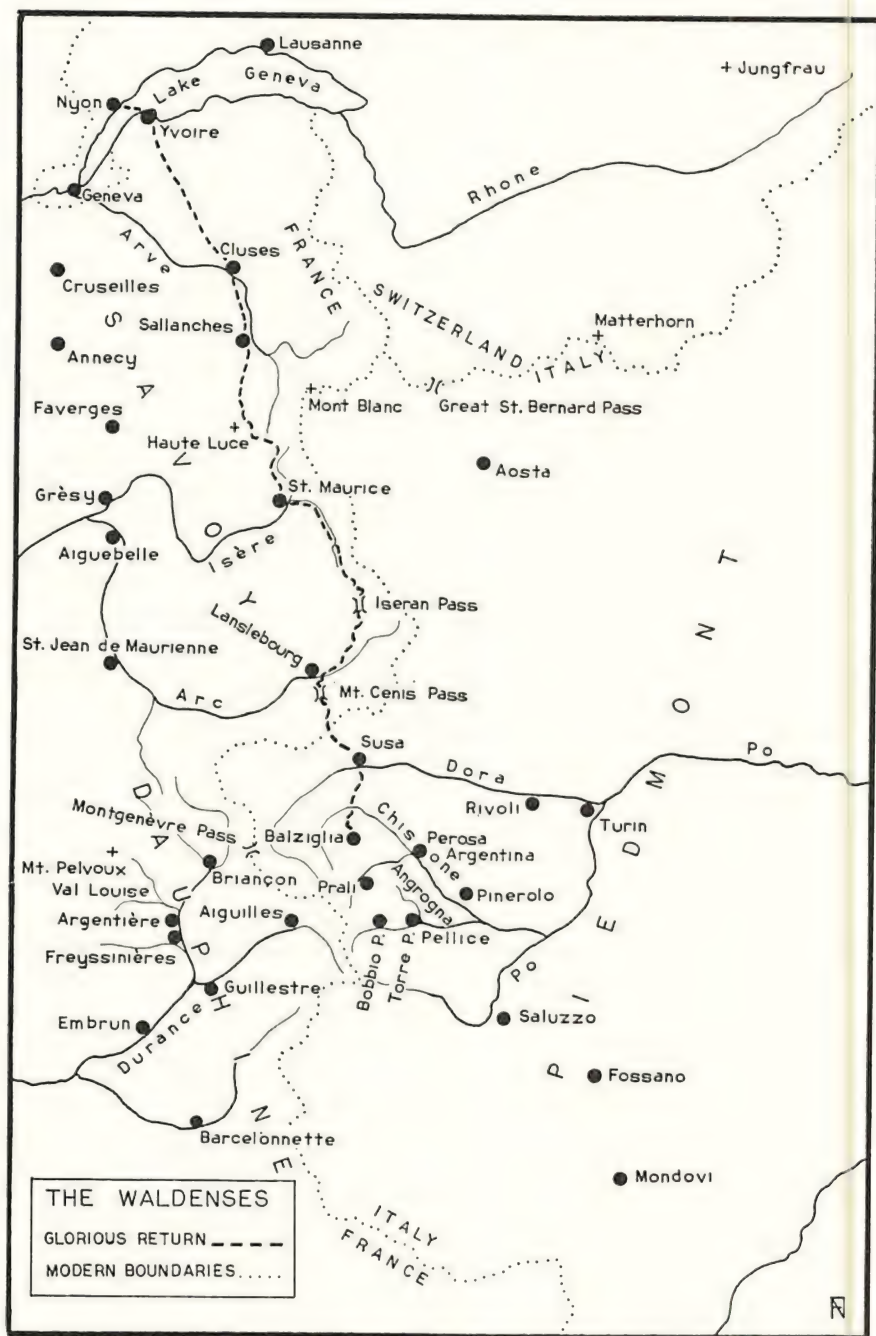
⁷⁶ See the excellent monograph by Guy H. Dodge, *Political Theory of the Huguenots of the Dispersion*.

Protestant control of Catholics and urged state action against his fellow Protestants in Holland. Like Thomas Cartwright in sixteenth-century England, his sole concern was the truth. He was not inconsistent if he is seen as defender of the original Genevan ideal of the Holy Commonwealth. Now John Locke, from the same theological background, came around to religious freedom. But for Locke the church was in essence invisible and not to be identified with any visible form. For Jurieu, on the other hand, the church was the truly biblical church clearly set forth in Scripture—that of Geneva. Therefore he had no compunction against using the consistory of Rotterdam to take vengeance on his Protestant opponents, any more than he did against taking on single-handedly the great Bossuet, who recognized in him a worthy opponent. Out of all this conflict came a most valuable literature of politics.

The many writings on the subject of the economic influence of the Huguenots of the dispersion, both negatively in France and positively outside, are now subject to revision. Some exaggerated claims have been made, and some important factors outside the history of refugees have been ignored. The so-called revocation hypothesis of Charles Weiss has come in for sharp analysis by Warren Scoville among others.⁷⁷ Everyone recognizes at the outset the stimulating force of persecution on the activities and energy of minorities. The 200,000 people who fled France left a void and had a powerful impact on the countries of refuge. Quite probably the exodus had demonstrable effects on the decline of various industries in France and equally demonstrable effects on the increase of activity in the other lands. But Scoville points out that the wool and silk industries were already sick. The departure of only 1 percent should not be exaggerated in its effects. Other factors, like the depreciation of the paper value of money, red tape, taxes, tariffs, and famine, must also be taken into consideration in explaining what happened in France at the end of the seventeenth century.

Without doubt, whatever the measure of consequences in France may be, the beneficial influence in the spread of skill and enterprise in so many different countries by a people charged with enthusiasm and determination as a result of their unhappy exile can scarcely be exaggerated. Weiss tends to overstate even this, attributing all improvements to the presence of refugees. But the fact remains—and a very large fact it is—that the spread of French culture and enterprise through the dispersion of the Huguenots was the most generous contribution, although unintended, from the Sun King to his uneasy neighbors and opponents.

⁷⁷ See his *Persecution of Huguenots and French Economic Development, 1680–1720*.



Chapter 22

Waldenses of the Glorious Return

*Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée des
Vaudois dans leurs valées,*

Où

*L'on voit une troupe de ces gens, qui
n'a jamais été jusqu'à mille personnes,
soutenir la guerre contre le Roi de
France, & contre S. A. R. le Duc de
Savoye: faire tête à leur armée de vingt
deux mille hommes: s'ouvrir le passage
par la Savoye, & par le haut Dauphiné:
batre plusieurs fois les ennemis, & enfin
miraculeusement rentrer dans ses heri-
tages, s'y maintenir les armes à la main, &
y retablir le culte de Dieu, qui en avoit
été interdit depuis trois ans & dem.*

Le tout

*Recueilli des memoires, qui ont été fidèle-
ment faits de tout ce qui s'est passé dans
cette guerre des Vaudois, & mis au jour
par les soins, & aux dépens*

*De Henri Arnaud, Pasteur & Colonel
des Vaudois.**

Book title, 1710, Henri Arnaud

* History of the Glorious Return of the Waldenses to Their Valleys: Where one sees a group of these people, never quite a thousand persons, wage war against the

The revocation of the Edict of Nantes which had come on 18 October 1685, was effective throughout the domains of King Louis XIV. Hence the first direct effects on the Waldenses were felt by those who lived on the French side of the border with Savoy. In that time the French governed not only Dauphiné on the west slope of the Alps but also several valleys which lay on the east, or Italian, side, including the Delfinato, Pragela, and Perosa—that is, the northern portion of the traditional Waldensian region. Around two thousand people took refuge in the other Waldensian valleys or went directly to Switzerland. So great was the exodus that King Louis tried to stop the flow by urging the duke of Savoy to prohibit movement across the borders. Under strong pressure an edict to this effect was issued early in November.

A. The Great Persecution

Duke Victor Amadeus II had married the niece of the French king. This factor, plus the proximity of the massive armies of France in these days of her highest apparent glory, brought the young duke under immediate pressure to adjust to French policy. Nevertheless, for some months delays were encountered in Savoy. Not until the end of January 1686 was a formal edict issued against the heretics. The preamble made a pointed reference to the role of the king of France. It then proceeded to strike the deathblow in nine articles:

I. The Vaudois shall cease immediately and forever from all the exercises of their religion.

II. They are prohibited from holding religious meetings, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

III. All their ancient privileges are abolished.

IV. All their places of worship, places of prayer, and edifices set apart for their worship shall be razed.

V. All the pastors and schoolmasters of the valleys shall be obliged to em-

King of France and against His Royal Highness, the Duke of Savoy; make headway against their army of twenty-two thousand men; open a way through Savoy and high Dauphine; attack many times the enemy, and finally enter miraculously into their heritage, there maintain themselves arms at hand, and reestablish the worship of God which had been prohibited for three and a half years. The whole drawn from the memoirs which have been faithfully made of all that has happened in this war of the Waldenses, and published by the efforts and at the expense of Henri Arnaud, Pastor and Colonel of the Waldenses.

brace Catholicism, or to quit the country within the space of fifteen days, under pain of death and confiscation of goods.

VI. All the children born, and to be born, of Protestant parents shall be compulsorily educated as Catholics. Consequently, the parents to whom a child shall be born are required, within eight days from its birth, to present it to the priest of their parish, under pain, for the mother, of being publicly beaten with rods, and, for the father, of five years of the galleys.

VII. The Vaudois pastors who shall abjure the doctrine which they have hitherto preached shall receive a pension of one third greater than they have previously enjoyed, with a reversion of one half of this annuity to their widows.

VIII. All foreign Protestants settled in Piedmont are ordained to become Catholics or to leave the country within the space of fifteen days.

IX. By a special act of his high and paternal clemency the sovereign will permit them to sell, within that interval, the properties which they have acquired in Piedmont, on condition that the purchasers shall be Catholics only.¹

In the midst of the gathering clouds the great exile Janavel, from his vantage point in Geneva, issued a warning and a plan. He told the Waldenses that their first need was firm unity between pastors and people. If war came, they should of course first appeal to their ruler but at the same time have two men in the plain to observe—one to investigate, the other to carry information, "that you be not taken by surprise." The old fighter was still sharp to forestall enemy action. If troops were sent to be quartered in the valleys, none should under any pretext be admitted—"remember the massacres of 1655," which were preceded by perfidious infiltration into hamlets and homes. The rest of the long letter was filled with detailed instructions on defense.

When the formal edict appeared, the Swiss and several other powers tried unsuccessfully to thwart its execution. Swiss ambassadors officially visited the valleys and urged the Waldenses to accept an invitation to emigrate to Switzerland. They maintained contact with the Savoyard government in Turin and sought as far as possible to mitigate the force of the persecution. The Waldenses themselves were in confusion. The ambassadors argued, "Would it not be better to carry to another place the lamp of the gospel, which has been intrusted to you, than to let it remain here to be extinguished in blood?" Although many of the pastors were inclined to this peaceful way out, the majority of the people remained firm in their intention to defend their valleys. The Swiss reported, "We have found the people of the valleys strongly resolved to defend themselves; but the condition of their forces does not correspond

¹ Alexis Muston, *Israel of the Alps*, I, 428.

to the courage of their resolution.”² Pastor Henri Arnaud, returning from Holland, issued a call to arms and strengthened the determination to resist. Angrogna especially, along with Bobbio, San Giovanni, and the majority in Torre Pellice favored strong defense.³ When the terms of the edict became known, the spirit of resistance doubled swiftly and reunited the people to protect their ancestral heritage.

Late in April military operations began with the movement of a combined force of Piedmontese and French toward the valleys. Overwhelmed by vastly superior force, the defenders retreated farther and farther, higher and higher, into the mountains, drawing into an ever-restricted circle. By June it was almost all over. In general the action was strictly military—but General Catinat wrote to Louvois on 9 May, “*Ordinai di usare un po' di crudeltà*” (“I have ordered the use of a little cruelty”). About a thousand people perished in the struggle. Thousands more were captured and imprisoned all over northern Italy. Most of the children were separated from their families and distributed around Piedmont to be brought up in Catholic families. About two thousand Waldenses abjured and became Catholics. These, settled in unpleasant areas, were not allowed to participate in the emigration to Switzerland a year later.

On the other hand, Henri Arnaud and two other leading pastors escaped to Switzerland. Small groups found precarious refuge in the mountain passes and continued a most effective form of guerrilla warfare. These *Invincibili*, as they came to be called, proved so worrisome a factor in the duke's problems that he finally decided to negotiate some form of settlement providing for emigration of the best part of his population in the mountain regions. One of the principal arguments toward this decision was the continued activity of only eighty men in the Pellice region and fifty more in the valley of San Martino.⁴ In the settlement which fol-

² Johann K. Mörikofer, *Geschichte der evangelischen Flüchtlinge in der Schweiz*, p. 256.

³ Ernesto Comba, *Storia dei Valdesi*, p. 204.

⁴ Arturo Pascal, *L'espatria dei valdesi in terra svizzera*, pp. 10-15, analyzes the traditional account in the face of criticisms charging that such a paltry body of guerrillas could not possibly “negotiate” with anyone. His conclusion is that this is exactly what did happen, and that these few men were a major factor in the duke's decision. “*Concludendo, asseriremo dunque che, se non fu stipulato a Bobbio un ‘trattato’ nel senso strettamente giuridico della parola—perchè le clausole di esso, per le ragioni già addotte, non furono ratificate dal Duca, nè forse neppure messe per iscritto dai suoi emissari—resta tuttavia provato che fra gli ‘Invincibili’ e gli ufficiali ducali si svolsero, consapevoli e consenzienti il sovrano, lunghe e faticose stipulazioni, durante le quali i Valdesi ottennero tregue, garanzie, ostaggi, passaporti ed assicurazioni precise, che parvero a molti indecorose per il prestigio di un principe, ma alle quali valdesi e ducali, di buona o di mala voglia, in buona o cattiva fede, riconobbero il valore di un trattato*” (pp. 24-25).

lowed, the *Invincibili* were the first to be sent to Switzerland. They secured formal agreement with the duke that, if they ceased resistance, all the Waldenses in prison would be released and allowed to emigrate. They were particularly willing to stop the fighting because as long as it continued the duke would use the war as an excuse to continue holding the prisoners.⁵

The settlement with the *Invincibili* was confirmed and arranged in detail in an agreement made, after considerable delay and interference, between the envoys of the Swiss and the representatives of the duke of Savoy. At the Colloquy of Luserna, 17 October 1686, a plan was made by the Savoyard Count Ottavio Solaro de Govone and two principal spokesmen for the Swiss with the following provisions. The Waldensian prisoners were to be released for emigration to Switzerland and thence to places of permanent residence. The duke would provide necessary food and clothing and means of transport, together with passports and assurances of safe conduct. The cantons of Switzerland would arrange the settlement of the refugees in lands relatively far removed from the borders of Piedmont and would refuse to provide arms or otherwise aid the refugees in any attempt to return to their valleys. Extended negotiations were made in behalf of the many Waldensian children already scattered in private homes and institutions throughout Piedmont. After further quibbling the duke finally confirmed the plan the last day of November.

This plan involved the destinies of about three thousand people. In January 1687 they were all incarcerated in various prisons of Piedmont, mainly in the upper Po Valley and southward. The fairly reliable figures kept indicate that there were 2,739 persons—787 men, 950 women, 433 children over ten, and 569 children under ten. In addition there was a record of about a thousand Waldenses who had become Catholic; other estimates ran as high as two thousand. No complete record is available of the thousands who died in the persecutions or during the months of imprisonment. Probably about twelve thousand Waldenses inhabited the valleys before the great exile of 1687.

⁵ A rare anonymous *Histoire de la persécution des Vaudois de Piémont*, quoted in Pascal, published in Rotterdam in 1689, makes their position clear: "On leur dit que le Duc de Savoye avoit déclaré que tant qu'ils seroient sous les armes, on ne relacherait point les prisonniers et on leur promit positivement que dès lors qu'ils seroient sortis, on donneroit la liberté à leurs freres. Si bien que les Vaudois considerans d'un cote que l'hiver aprochoit et qu'ils ne devoient attendre aucun secours, et d'autre coté que leur resistance pourroit fournir un pretexte à la detention des prisonniers, crurent qu'ils devoient se retirer des Etats de Piémont" (pp. 18-20).

B. The Emigration to Switzerland

In the negotiations with Piedmont the cantons agreed to apportion the burden of refugee care among themselves.⁶ All movement would pass in the first instance through Geneva, which would be the reception point. After a brief period for rest and recovery, the exiles would then proceed to different parts of Switzerland, as follows: Bern, 40 percent; Zürich, 30 percent; Basel, 12 percent; Schaffhausen, 9 percent; St. Gall, 5 percent. In these places they would remain over the winter. When the weather moderated, they would for the most part go on to permanent refuge in Germany, where opportunities awaited them in Brandenburg and Württemberg. But the first task was to get them out of Savoy, and that was the responsibility of the duke.

On 3 January 1687 Duke Victor Amadeus II issued the final edict authorizing the carefully planned movement. It is clear that throughout the entire proceeding the duke was personally sincere and honorable in his intentions. The beneficiaries of the plan had been in prison for eight months by this time, and many were not in good health. Many more had already died. The edict was purely an act of implementation. It made no reference to either the agreement with the *Invincibili* or the treaty with the Swiss. It amounted to a direct order of expulsion of all Waldenses who wished to remain Protestant. On the other hand, the authorities did what they could to facilitate the movement of people with the least possible suffering. This took some doing, over the Alps in the middle of winter!

An early plan had called for the transfer to be accomplished in four groups of approximately a thousand persons each. This was soon abandoned when the problems of supply became apparent. Also abandoned was the original route across the Great St. Bernard Pass, which was closed with snow. The best way turned out to be through Mont Cenis Pass and thence across mountainous Savoy to Geneva. A set route was defined with carefully designated stopovers. Thirteen bands of two or three hundred persons each were organized. Military convoys were provided for each major stage. Special assistance was made ready for the difficult passage over Mont Cenis. Quartermasters were made responsible for the housing and food and clothing of the refugees along the way. A complete record of passage was kept for official archives. The suffering of the Waldenses on their way to Switzerland was not the result of in-

⁶ The most complete and reliable account of the passage into exile is the work already noted by Arturo Pascal. The narrative that follows is based principally on this work unless otherwise noted.

difference on the part of Duke Victor Amadeus, nor was it the result of poor planning. The unavoidable exigencies of winter played their part, and irresponsible officers accounted for the rest. Occasionally the townspeople along the way, from prejudice or exasperation with the repeated burdens laid on them, were hostile.

As it turned out, the journey took from twelve to sixteen days, depending on weather and point of departure. An average of not more than twenty kilometers was covered per day. From the various points of imprisonment the refugees were brought in appropriate stages up the valley of the Susa to Novalesca and thence across the Mont Cenis into Savoy. Following the unhappy procedure of trial and error, the first groups naturally suffered most. Other groups benefited from their experiences, evident in occasional grisly reminders left along the way.

The guerrilla fighters had gone ahead already on their own. In addition, rather strong evidence exists that an independent group from Mondovì, hearing prematurely of the coming release, went ahead without participating in the regular plan, arranged with military precision, and made their own way out at the end of December. Their destination and fate are uncertain.

Pastor Henri Arnaud, the heroic minister-general of the Waldenses during their exile and stirring return, provides an apocalyptic setting for the exciting events of the following months. In his famous and now very rare *Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs vallées*, published in 1710, he writes in the preface that the two persecuted witnesses of Revelation 11 are a figure of the Waldensian people; and the woman with child driven into the desert of Revelation 12 is a figure of the true church represented in his day by the Waldenses. Reading the almost unbelievable melodrama of exile and return in the fiery account of Arnaud, one almost visualizes a cosmic struggle paralleling the earthly warfare of the heroic one thousand. Even in purely worldly terms the experience of this group of dedicated and courageous Christians takes on significance far beyond the numbers involved.

The route north to Geneva followed various roads through Piedmont as the thirteen bands of prisoners marched in successive movements toward Mont Cenis. In general a march of a few days took them up the valley of the Po from the east or down the tributaries of the Po from the south, past Turin, thence up the valley of the Dora to Susa. They stopped overnight in different villages on both sides of the river, but most frequently at Rivoli in the plain, Avigliana near the narrowing of the valley, and Susa near the ascent to the pass. All the bands paused at Novalesca for rest and provision. This small community clung to the

mountain valley under the high peaks surrounding Mont Cenis. Now the travelers faced the most trying portion of the journey. They had to climb up the steep Italian side and over the pass of Mont Cenis, which rises to 6,831 feet between the Cottian and the Graian Alps. Through this snow-covered pass the little bands made their way in the footsteps of countless predecessors, including some of the most famous in world history, such as Pepin the Short, Charlemagne, and Charles the Bald, to say nothing of later conquerors like Napoleon.

On the other side they descended into the lovely valleys of Savoy, especially the Maurienne, which cradles the Arc River. In summer under more leisurely circumstances the view would have been magnificent, down grassy slopes with scattered trees to Lanslebourg at the foot of the pass along the river. To the Waldenses the passage down the Arc Valley was not so enjoyable as to encourage them to tarry. Even the mountain-hardened refugees would have been overawed by the precipitous slopes which crowd in on the upper Maurienne. (Some of the villages along the way, then still intact in ancient dignity, were destroyed in the fierce fighting that occurred in the valley in 1944.) The principal stopovers were Modane, resting in a round valley surrounded by mountains; St.-Jean-de-Maurienne, the old capital of the region and seat of a sixth-century bishopric; and Aiguebelle. A few miles downstream from Aiguebelle they came to the larger stream, the Isère, and turned to the right to follow it upstream past Grésy and over the hills north to Faverges. All of these places were small villages designated for overnight stops. The largest town on their route was Annecy, whose charming lake they had little opportunity to admire. The last stop before Geneva was at Cruseilles. At last the refugees crossed the Arve River and fell into the arms of their friends.

The experiences of some of the bands along the way help to make vivid this most dramatic emigration. The first brigade was composed of about one hundred prisoners gathered from the jails of Vercelli and Trino in Piedmont east of Turin. A military guard of fifty men accompanied them but was changed periodically. A separate Savoyard guard was provided from Mont Cenis on. The march began on 7 January 1687, when the group of sixty-two from Vercelli went to join the group of thirty-six from Trino. By the time they reached Rivoli the number was reduced from ninety-eight to ninety-three, by illness or death or escape. The roads were in terrible condition, impeding the progress of the carts. On the fourteenth they traversed the Mont Cenis after revictualing at Novalesca. Thirty mules were provided, together with the help of a number of men. Nevertheless, the trip over the pass and down the Maurienne and thence to Geneva was very difficult for this first group. They did not reach

their destination until the twenty-second, after fifteen days' march. Of the ninety-two persons who had left Novalesca only sixty-eight arrived in Geneva. Two children had been kept behind at Aiguebelle, and the rest had fallen victim to snow and cold.⁷

At the beginning of the emigration a great controversy arose over the disposition of the children of the refugees. The authorities did everything they could to have the children left behind. Their real reason was the expectation of raising the children to be good Catholics. Sometimes humanitarian arguments were advanced that children should not be required to take the arduous road to exile. Sometimes threats were employed. But the Waldenses had had enough experience with this sort of program and refused to move until their children were permitted to go. In spite of all precautions, however, almost every band suffered the loss of children snatched away at one point or another. Much of this activity was the expression of local zeal or bigotry and not attributable to official policy. Over and over the travelers witnessed the poignant separation of mother and child. Little boys and little girls were taken into the homes of natives or placed in orphanages. Not all of them were eventually recovered by their parents. At first the duke had favored the plan to take the children, following the argument of moral responsibility for their faith. The obligation to see to their Christian upbringing took precedence, the theologians explained, over the claims of parenthood. But faced with adamant opposition from the exiles, the duke reversed his plan and ordered that no interference was to be permitted in the passage of families. Local fervor continued to plague them in spite of the formal assurances now given.⁸

Physicians who examined the members of the first band were appalled at the condition in which they arrived in Geneva. In addition the refugees complained that the soldiers who accompanied them refused to consider the sufferings occasioned by snow and cold and even took for themselves some of their baggage. Protests from Geneva and Bern had some effect in the easier passage of later groups.

The second band came up from Bene in the south, near Mondovi, and

⁷ A report sent from Geneva to Bern describes the arrival of the first group as follows: "*Il arriva mercredi au soir dans notre ville 68 Vaudois miserables. . . . tires des prisons de Tryn et Verceil ou ils etaient au commencement au nombre de quatorze ou quinze cents, et d'ou il en est sorti que 98. Les autres 30 sont morts en chemin du froid ou maladie, sauf deux filles enlevees a Aiguebelle. Nous les garderons jusqu'au lundi prochain, qu'ils partiront [sic] pour les quartiers dont nous avons donne avis au Bailly de Nion a la reserve des malades, qui sont en quelque nombre*" (quoted in Pascal, p. 98).

⁸ Pascal, p. 103.

reached the route taken by the first at Rivoli. They left Bene 19 January numbering 219. At Novalesca there were 216. They passed over Mont Cenis Pass with the help of 38 mules and 104 men equipped for mountain portage. The difficulties of the way through Savoy are indicated by the arrival at Geneva on 2 February of about 202, a loss of 14 persons. They happened to arrive at the bridge over the Arve, the normal approach to Geneva, on Sunday at the very time of public worship. The bridge was raised and the gates to the city were closed while the entire population attended church. The weary band had therefore to wait patiently along the banks of the river until noon, when the bridge was lowered, the gates opened, and the way made free for their entry. The citizens of Geneva were most generous in their treatment of the refugees—but there were limits, and the occurrence of Sunday service marked one.

It quickly became apparent that many members of this group were in dire need of attention. Over thirty had to be taken directly to the hospital, many with their extremities frozen and already in process of putrefaction. Two persons died only a few hours after their arrival. This situation led the cantons to make formal protest to Savoy and the duke over the failure to implement properly the provisions of the arrangement and the edict of 3 January to "*vestire, nutrire fino alla frontiera gli eretici e fornir loro qualche altra comodità.*"⁹ Their protests, along with those resulting from the reception of the first band, measurably bettered the lot of later groups. The ducal agent in Savoy strictly enforced the regulations designed to assist the refugees. Not only did the military detachments conduct themselves more humanely, but the provision for assistance along the way improved.

The third band was composed of almost 350 persons from Saluzzo, who proceeded north on the west side of the Po Valley, on 24 January. Three died along the way, and some twenty were lost on the Mont Cenis and in Savoy. There arrived in Geneva on 4 February 329 persons. A huge crowd awaited them at the bridge this time, composed of Genevan residents, French refugees, and Waldenses already arrived. Among them were many of the notable personages of Geneva. The refugees were accorded a truly royal welcome and, being in better condition than some of their predecessors, were taken to various homes and hospices, where they were feasted and clothed pending their departure for other towns of Switzerland.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 110. The Genevan Council reported "*estant constant qu'il y en a plusieurs qui, n'estants pas habillés, sont morts de froid par le chemin ou demeurés malades, qui est autant que morts: les soldats aussi qui les accompagnent pressent et contraignent ces pauvres gens de marcher, qui sont demis morts, ce qui est cause que plusieurs meurent en chemin.*"

The next four bands came from Fossano, along the Stura River in the middle of the south Piedmontese plain. The number of prisoners there was so large that they were divided into four separate bands of two or three hundred persons each. The first was greeted at Geneva by a little group of six ministers and old Janavel, short of stature but commanding in appearance. The groups from Fossano suffered further kidnapping of their children in spite of the new regulations. Time and again reports came of little boys and little girls taken away by people or priests. The second of the Fossano bands encountered a terrible storm on the Mont Cenis. As the weather suddenly worsened, the commandant of the column ordered a halt at a little village partway up the pass. But when the situation did not improve as hoped, he decided to proceed anyway. The little hamlet was in no position to support so many travelers. In spite of warnings from the experienced mountaineers among the Waldenses that a worse storm was approaching, the order to proceed went out. Conflicting evidence prevents clear assessment of responsibility for the disaster that now befell. As they struggled upward they were caught in a blinding snowstorm driven by a freezing wind. A sudden avalanche swept a part of the column to death—eighty-six refugees together with six soldiers. Of some 320 persons who had set out, only 230 arrived in Geneva.

The third group from Fossano had its troubles even before it got into the mountains. Either from illness or mental depression or both no less than 52 of the band of 333 had to be left behind in Rivoli. Those who got through were in such poor shape that the Genevan authorities sent out wagons to meet the column and bring them more easily into the city; 230 thus reached Geneva. The fourth Fossano band completed the journey without untoward incident except that a mob at the bridge got into trouble with the Savoyard guard.

While the bands continued to move in ordered fashion one after the other, an independent group of thirty-two people came through from the valley of Luserna—without supervision of Piedmontese authorities, outside the provision for the regular migration, and accompanied only by a little detachment sent with them by the governor of Luserna.

The rest of the bands, altogether thirteen, made a successful transit, but the eleventh encountered not only bad weather but unaccustomed hostility on the part of some inhabitants. By this time some of the latter were tired of furnishing supplies for heretics. Strong action was required by the ducal agent in Savoy before they were adequately provided. The thirteenth group consisted of prisoners from Turin itself and from Luserna. Those in Turin had thought they might be the first to go. As it turned out, they were the last. They left on 27 February, were joined

by those from Luserna, and eventually numbered 222. Only 202 departed from Novalesca over the Mont Cenis and on 10 March arrived in Geneva.

Thus, between 7 January and 10 March 2,719 persons were officially listed as emigrating. Of these 2,622—97 fewer—actually traversed the Mont Cenis Pass. Between 2,414 and 2,492 finally arrived in Geneva. Along the way on both sides of the great pass some died, some fell ill, some fled, and some were kidnapped. In addition to those officially transported, however, one must take account of others who came before and after and individually. In the years 1687 to 1689 probably over 3,300 persons migrated from Piedmont to Switzerland. These were all Waldenses, except for some who had fled from France with the revocation and settled temporarily in the Piedmontese valleys. The situation may be made more vivid by reference to the experience of one of the valleys, Angrogna. Of 327 families 12 became Roman Catholic as a result of the edict. Of 2,237 individuals including children 1,250 died under persecution and in prison, chiefly the latter; 539 went into exile in regular bands; 269 were scattered in irregular refuge; 65 became missing, chiefly children taken away.¹⁰

The expenses of the entire program were so heavy that they severely burdened the treasury of Piedmont. If Duke Victor Amadeus had not been serious in his intent to facilitate the migration of his people, he would never have permitted so large a financial drain. The generous assistance of the Swiss cantons and collections in more remote countries helped carry the task to conclusion.

Never had a people so reluctantly departed from their homeland. Never did a people so rapidly begin serious plans for a rapid return.

C. In Exile

The *Histoire de la persécution des Vaudois*, a primary source for the story of the Swiss exile, describes the condition of the refugees as they arrived in Geneva:

They arrived at different times and in different troops or brigades, which comprised altogether not more than two thousand five hundred persons. But they were all in a condition too sad and deplorable to describe. Some of these poor people died between the two gates of the city. Some found the end of

¹⁰ Muston, II, 21, compiled figures from different sources to devise the table from which this material is taken. All the figures are estimates, but drawn as carefully as possible.

their life at the beginning of their liberty; others were so weak of sickness and afflictions that they were expected to die any moment in the arms of those who had charitably supported them. Some were so frozen that they could not speak; others staggered from weariness and lassitude; others were so deprived of the use of their limbs that they could not help themselves to receive the assistance that was offered them. Most of them were naked and without shoes. In fact some bore such deep marks of extreme misery that even the heart most insensible to pity would be penetrated with a lively sorrow.¹¹

The assistance offered by the Swiss cantons was of a twofold nature. In the first place immediate relief was provided as the refugees streamed into Geneva. Most of the burden of this work fell naturally on the people of that city. But collections were made throughout the other cantons in support of the task. For a few days or a few weeks they remained in Geneva, then as soon as feasible moved on to other localities for more permanent settlement. Henri Arnaud, the chief pastor who escaped, reports that the original plan had called for their dispersal immediately. However, they obtained permission to spend the winter in Switzerland, pending further travel as spring came.¹² Zürich alone collected funds to the amount of 40,000 florins.

In Switzerland the Waldenses were carefully allotted to the different Protestant cantons. Bern received the most, 966. Then came Zürich with 682. Basel took 315; Schaffhausen, 218; and St. Gall, 143. The Swiss were uneasy about the large numbers of refugees, since the king of France was glowering at the French Reformed movement and the duke of Savoy was concerned about the Waldensian colonies. Thus it was that at Basel the Waldensians were quartered chiefly in the villages round about rather than in the city itself. Thus they would not be so obnoxious to the French authorities nearby.¹³

The Waldenses were reluctant to move farther from their homeland. For one reason they had no intention of settling into permanent exile, but for another, they wanted to remain close in until the duke completed his obligations. Most of the pastors were still in prison with their families. In fact these were not released until 1690, when the exiles had already victoriously returned to their valleys. And then hundreds of children were still unaccounted for, either held officially in homes and institutions in Savoy or simply spirited away no one knew where. Until

¹¹ Translated from the French as given in Pascal, p. 223.

¹² Henri Arnaud, *Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée des Vaudois dans leurs valées*, p. 18.

¹³ Mörikofer, p. 261.

as many of them as possible were rescued, the exiles in Switzerland did not want to go on. The Swiss authorities realized this and did what they could to gain the release of the children.

Part of the settlement with Piedmont was that the refugees should be disarmed and removed safely from proximity to the frontier. The Swiss carried out these obligations in all seriousness. Old Janavel was personally banished from Geneva as *persona non grata*; but he was received elsewhere with kindness and consideration. During their stay in Switzerland the refugees were well taken care of. One report describes their situation at Arnberg:

There are 250 of them. They give them very good ammunition bread. Wine is drawn for them from the cellars of the town's house; it is carried to them in pails. They have each a half pot, and this is filled with soup, and a half pound of beef or mutton given to each on a little plate, and half a pound of cheese. Such is their daily allowance.¹⁴

As soon as possible in spring the refugees were directed to remove farther from the regions of Savoy. Negotiations had already been started with German rulers in the Palatinate, in Brandenburg, and in Württemberg. Of these the most important was Brandenburg, where lived (until 1688) the old elector Frederick William. He was for his time a man of extraordinary breadth of vision and understanding. The possessions of this representative of the Hohenzollern family centered in the old mark of Brandenburg spread across the middle valleys of the Elbe and Oder rivers. But certain holdings had been acquired in the region of the lower Rhineland. The historic drive of the house was to unite these lands into what would one day be the great kingdom of Prussia. The old elector welcomed French and Waldensian refugees for at least two reasons. He sympathized with their unhappy lot and he saw the possibility of economic benefit from the acquisition of diligent and willing citizens. Since the revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685 he had already received some twenty thousand French refugees, most of whom eventually settled down to become good Prussians.

The elector's representative in the Rhineland reported of those Waldenses who wished to migrate to his lands,

These worthy people desire above all things that a district should be given them in which they might remain united, and that they should be the immediate

¹⁴ Muston, II, 15, quoting a contemporary traveler.

vassals of the sovereign, and not, as in France, of the nobles. There are few artisans or manufacturing operatives among them; they therefore need nothing but lands to cultivate, and especially pastures. They would particularly like a territory proper for the culture of the mulberry, because they have long been accustomed to the rearing of silkworms, and by this means could more easily provide for their own subsistence. His electoral highness may be assured of finding them obedient subjects, and of inflexible fidelity. They are a simple and laborious people; but they have ways of their own, and their manners and habits have much resemblance to those of the Swiss; for which reason they would not like to be intermixed with the other French refugees, whose lively and brisk humor would not perhaps accord with their tranquil disposition and their quite patriarchal mode of life.¹⁵

About seven hundred Waldenses came to Brandenburg, somewhat reluctantly, it must be admitted. This territory, especially the old mark, was far removed from the lovely valleys they called home. The flat north German plain was most distasteful. On the principle that beggars can't be choosers they had agreed to settle there. Their journey from Geneva to the Elbe makes an interesting itinerary, a continuation of the shorter but difficult passage from Piedmont to Geneva. Part of the band, of which the diarist Salvajot was a member, departed from Geneva after a rest of two weeks. On 24 March 1687 they left for Nyon along the lake shore. Proceeding through Lausanne, they came on 29 March to Payerne. "This was a Saturday, and we remained there next day, and there we had the privilege of being present at the distribution of the Lord's Supper, which was a great consolation for our souls."¹⁶ They rested also the next Sunday, and on 9 April arrived at St.-Gall.

Of two hundred people who came to St.-Gall only about fifty finally continued on to Brandenburg. The rest insisted on staying closer home, in an environment more suited to their mountain temperament. After spending the year making arrangements, the minority party embarked on the Lake of Constance for a nine days' trip down the Rhine to Basel, which they reached on 11 August 1688. There they joined other Waldenses who were ready to go to Brandenburg. Altogether this group numbered about 365. They embarked that day on eight boats for the journey to Frankfurt. They had their share of excitement. The commandant at Brissac, ignoring the safe-conducts with which the refugees were

¹⁵ Muston, II, 4, quoting from Erman and Reclam, vol. VI. Muston corrects E and R in pointing out that the Waldenses who first made arrangements with the elector were refugees from France, not inhabitants of the Piedmontese valleys. Some of the latter followed later.

¹⁶ From Salvajot's diary as reported in Muston, II, 3.

provided, opened fire, but with such lack of skill that the only result was the birth of several babies to Waldensian mothers whom fright threw into labor. They were almost arrested at Strasbourg as French fugitives.

Indeed, the entire passage down the Rhine was fraught with uncertainty. His royal majesty of France was deeply involved in projects, military and otherwise, designed to extend French sovereignty over the Rhineland. The processes begun during the Thirty Years' War were still in operation, and the adventures of Louis XIV in the Palatinate and elsewhere kept the whole Rhineland in turmoil. The influence of the elector of Brandenburg, as yet no match for the Sun King, was not extensive in this region. In spite of all war and rumor of war, however, the little band in their eight boats arrived safely at their point of debarkation on the Rhine, where they found wagons waiting to take them to Frankfurt. And in Frankfurt the official commissioners from Brandenburg awaited them. With the help of the French and German Reformed churches of the city they were able to prepare for the final leg of their journey.

The landgrave of Hesse not only gave them permission to pass through his lands but also provided wagons and other help. The route lay through Marburg, Cassel, and Alberstadt, where they rested a day. Thence they continued, arriving at Stendal toward the end of August. Stendal was one of the towns ravaged repeatedly in wars of the seventeenth century, and twice in the 1680's it had burned down. The population was almost entirely destroyed or scattered. Thus the refugees found at their disposal some deserted houses. They were also entertained in the homes of some of the remaining inhabitants. After the arrival of a second band in September the Waldenses in Stendal numbered 1,300.

As is to be expected in all such migrations, many difficulties were encountered in settling in a new land, even one so relatively depopulated as this. Soon the refugees had to send a detailed petition to the elector asking for the following privileges and arrangements: liberty of conscience and worship, and their own schools and teachers supported by the state; the right to elect their own magistrates; grant of land for grape culture, together with tools on credit; houses exempt from taxes for a certain number of years; clothes, bed linen, and stoves for refugees from a more salubrious land. "May it also please your electoral highness to give us some other food besides bread and beer, which are our sole nourishment, or some money in proportion to our families, and likewise some furniture, of which we are absolutely devoid." In addition they wanted freedom of trade without payment of fees, fishing and hunting rights, scholarships for education of young Waldenses for their ministry, a report on the col-

lections made on their behalf in Holland, and the assistance of the elector in gaining the release of their pastors still held by the duke of Savoy.¹⁷ Although the elector neglected to give formal consideration to this appeal, he sent commissioners to look after the immediate needs. It was agreed that they would be treated on the same basis as the French refugees and that some of them might settle in Burg, Spandau, and Magdeburg. Four hundred and six remained at Stendal, where they had the Church of St. Catherine for worship, using it alternately with the Germans. They continued to have trouble with housing and with the natives, who grew tired of serving the needs of these uninvited guests. Their attitude may have been shortsighted, but it was understandable.

The situation of the Waldenses who had chosen to settle in the Palatinate and in Württemberg was much less fortunate than that of those in Brandenburg. In the Rhenish Palatinate the little bands of exiles were caught in the invasion and devastation of that territory by the French troops of Louvois in 1689. They fled back to Switzerland or settled in Hesse. In Württemberg they faced the adamant opposition of the ruling ecclesiastical hierarchy, which was narrowly identified with the Augsburg Confession. Although the lay spokesmen and the law faculty of Tübingen favored admission of the Waldenses, the theologians and ministers stood opposed. Tentative approval was given, and tentative plans were made for migration. But difficulties continued, especially at the points of their religious position and of housing and who should pay for it. About a hundred did settle in the areas of Maulbronn and Friedenthal, and collections sent from Holland helped ease the financial problem. But the outbreak of the Palatine episode in the long warfare between France and the Holy Roman Empire so unsettled the Württembergers that they required the Waldenses, who had been reluctantly admitted, to leave. These therefore returned once more to Switzerland, arriving at an opportune time to share in the famous episode of the Glorious Return. At a later time some Waldenses did settle permanently in Württemberg.¹⁸

¹⁷ This document is reported in detail in Muston, II, 8-9.

¹⁸ Mörikofer, p. 263, gives full details of the abortive plan for settlement in Württemberg with the judgment that it was really an excellent plan which ran into difficulties over the problem of finance. The Swiss were unwilling to continue to help their temporary guests, who had already cost them a great deal; yet the Württembergers were unwilling to assume the costs of housing the strangers. Behind it all lay the sharp theological division between the firmly Calvinistic Waldenses with their evangelical spirit and the now rather strongly legalistic theologians of the Lutheran confession associated with the theological faculty of the University of Tübingen.

D. The Glorious Return

From the Pays de Gex north of Geneva one can look over broad green pastures and across Lac Lemman to the mountains of Savoy, which rise tier on tier from the dark low foothills to the sunlit peaks in the distance. Over the horizon is a bright white cloud. But no! On more careful inspection it becomes the highest massif of all—Mont Blanc itself, snow-covered in midsummer, towering above its fellows in such huge mass that it spreads out like a cloud.

This was the view enjoyed by the Waldenses who had furtively gathered in the Forest of Prangins up behind Nyon, a little town situated along the shore of the lake a few miles northeast of Geneva. Several hundred of them had come together from different parts of Switzerland and from even farther away in the Rhineland and Germany. They had come in fulfillment of a plan to return in a military body to their homeland and there to hold the valleys until their families could join them and settle to live in peace. Of the details they knew nothing. They were aware only that something important was afoot, that they were expected to equip themselves and make their way as inconspicuously as possible to the secret place of meeting in the Forest of Prangins, and that from there they would embark on a most certainly perilous expedition. In leaving their positions in exile they had to be circumspect about their intentions and provide for the families left behind as best they could. They dared not show themselves in large groups but moved by threes and fours, at night, along back trails.

In spite of all precautions, however, the authorities became suspicious of the many mysterious disappearances and the furtive movements of the strangers. Efforts were made by various local magistrates to find out what was going on and to prevent any illegal assemblies of the refugees. This time the conspirators eluded detection. This time the plan worked. In the middle of August 1689, under cover of darkness, about a thousand armed men gathered on the shores of Lac Lemman prepared to sail in fifteen boats to the Savoyard shore to the south.

Earlier attempts to return to their valleys had failed, chiefly because the Swiss authorities kept a strict surveillance and broke up any assemblies before they could move. The first abortive effort fell apart almost before it began. The next attempt was more carefully planned and seemed to promise success. Three scouts were sent ahead to work out a safe route through Savoy that would avoid main roads and important communities and river bridges. But this plan, which was promoted in

1688, was betrayed to both Swiss and Piedmontese authorities, who promptly broke it up. These disappointments convinced the Waldensian leaders that the most important aspect of any plan of return was the secrecy in which it must be shrouded. Thus in the summer of 1689 no chance was taken. The Swiss did not discover anything important until it was too late.

One must consider the real feelings of the Swiss. They took action to restrain the Waldenses not only out of a sense of obligation to the treaty with Piedmont and from considerations of their own security but also because of friendly sentiments toward their impetuous guests, who might easily wreck their chance of return by ill-considered ventures. Any plan that might conceivably work would get at least passive assistance through negligent surveillance. It may well be that the Swiss knew more of what was going on than they admitted. They made a show of trying to interfere, confiscated some boats, arrested one group, and arrived at the place of embarkation—too late. About nine hundred men had made their getaway.

More important is the attitude of the Waldenses themselves. Wherever they had been settled—in the Swiss cantons, in the Palatinate, in Hesse or Württemberg, or far away in Brandenburg—they were united in one overwhelming obsession: They must return to their valleys. It was worse farther away, especially on the alien plains of north Germany. At least in Switzerland they were in familiar mountains. There at least they lived among people who shared many of their customs and mountain ways. But Switzerland was not home, and no amount of generous Swiss hospitality could make it so. They wanted to go home so badly that they were really difficult to get along with. One can readily sympathize with Basellers and Brandenburgers who complained that their charges were uncooperative and ungrateful. The Waldenses never looked on their new homes as other than temporary stopgaps, never regarded their new neighbors as other than passing strangers. Few of them—quite unlike the thousands of French Reformed refugees who went into exile at the same time—ever settled permanently in the communities of refuge. They simply waited the first chance to go home to their Alpine valleys. That explains their unwillingness to become good citizens in the friendly towns of Switzerland and elsewhere, "*où ils auroient bien eu sujet d'être satisfaits de leur sort,*" as wrote Henri Arnaud in his famous *Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée*, "*si l'envie de retourner dans leur pays n'avoit incessamment agité leurs esprits*" ("where they would have been satisfied with their situation if the desire to return to their country had not in-

cessantly disturbed their spirits").¹⁹ This insistent itch to go back is one of the distinctive characteristics of the Waldensian refuge.

Three men stand out as leaders in planning and executing the expedition. Because he was involved from start to finish and came to personify the whole episode in his own career, the first is Henri Arnaud, a native of French Embrun who settled in Torre Pellice in 1656. After study in Basel and Holland and preparation for the ministry in Geneva, he was ordained for service in the Waldensian church in 1670. He survived the persecutions of the seventeenth century and was the most notable pastor to escape from Piedmont at the time of the great exile. He participated in planning the expedition of return, and he accompanied the hardy troop back to the valleys. There he continued to serve in a threefold capacity—as chaplain to the expedition, as skillful member of the military staff, and as pastor of the Waldensian flock as it was reestablished in the valleys.

But two other men deserve most credit for special aspects of the enterprise. Joshua Janavel, longtime exile in Geneva, was the guiding figure in the careful planning of the assembly, dispatch, and advance of the returning force. His knowledge of military operations and his long experience in mountain fighting against vastly superior but unwieldy enemy forces provided a realistic basis for the plan. On the line of march the tactics, itinerary, and military discipline were the responsibility of a gentlemen named Turrel, who had been chosen as commander-in-chief by the Waldenses themselves.²⁰

The conspirators received help, open or covert, from quite varied sources. When the Bernese discovered that the exiles were up to something, they did not interfere on the grounds that the Piedmontese had not yet honored their obligation to free the imprisoned pastors. An agent of the prince of Orange came from Holland to Switzerland, ostensibly to arrange for the emigration of Waldenses to Württemberg and the Palatinate but really to equip them for a return home.²¹ Although some law-abiding Swiss reported the movement of Waldenses, others gave them support in food and shelter. The inhabitants of the Vaud, who were especially concerned with the gathering plot in their midst, looked the other way and said nothing. Local people near Nyon saw nothing wrong

¹⁹ Arnaud, p. 6.

²⁰ Muston, II, 38-40 (note 3), enters into great detail in explanation of the relation of Arnaud to the expedition and of his own report, which unaccountably passes by the place of Turrel. Muston speculates that Arnaud here is writing in the later knowledge that Turrel abandoned the force after it had returned home in the thought that the situation was hopeless, and that hence his name were better forgotten.

²¹ Mörkofer, pp. 267-69.

with providing large quantities of provisions for a few visitors who then disappeared in the woods. The Spanish ambassador, who found out something and suspected much more, was unable to obtain more than a token effort from the federal government.

In the evening of 16 August 1689 the men, who had been waiting almost without breathing for fear of discovery, moved silently down the gorge to the shore where fifteen boats waited to take them across the narrow part of the lake to Savoy. The bailiff of Nyon reported what happened, as best as he could discover afterwards:

It is certain that, for the most part, they were in a forest below Duillier, in a strong place on this side of Rolle and far from any road, and that there they received from Lausanne and Rolle all kinds of munitions and supplies, so that these men, numbering about 1500, armed with new bayoneted guns and fine large sabers and lances, assembled at least four hours in the forest of Nyon, and that, by night (between nine and ten in the evening), they crossed the lake in thirteen great boats and two smaller ones, which they had obtained at Ouchy or Rolle or elsewhere. It must be that someone was in perfidious association with them. Who he was, God only knows.²²

Not all of the adventurers were able to get away. The loss of the confiscated boats made it necessary to make two trips, and time did not suffice to take everyone. But nine hundred did sail across Lac Lemman and join in the prayers of thanksgiving as the men made ready for the long overland trip. They were organized into nineteen companies, six of which were composed of French Waldenses. Three ministers went along.

The first encounter with the people of Savoy was at Yvoire, a little town near the shore of the lake. Expecting hostility, the Waldenses sent forward a demand that the town open its gates without opposition or the place would be stormed. The citizens decided to receive them peacefully, and the expedition marched through in careful discipline without harm to or from the civilians. They did take as hostages two notables, who were well treated and released farther on in exchange for other hostages. In many areas the people offered help to the passing troop.²³

In the course of the journey ten overnight stops and ten long marches

²² Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 270.

²³ The most important source, by far, for the actual story of the return is the account of Arnaud, *Histoire de la glorieuse rentrée*. It was prepared shortly after the event and published in 1710. Muston makes use of the original manuscript, which was preserved in Berlin, and which differs from the printed account in some particulars. The itinerary begins on p. 44 and continues through p. 157. The rest of the book, through p. 407, gives details of the resettlement and struggle until official sanction was given in 1690.

were made. The total distance covered was 141 miles (227 kilometers). The first day took them a long journey to the little village of Viuz, where they rested only two hours. By moonlight they pressed on past St. Jeoire and finally camped in the open on a hillside. The next day they came to Cluses, located at a point where the Arve River valley narrows into something of a gorge. Only by threats of force and of execution of hostages did the Waldenses gain passage through this town, as the people stood in hostile array under arms.

In the narrow valley between Cluses and Sallanches they had to take a bridge by storm, and at the latter city strong threats were necessary before they were permitted to pass without opposition. The valley was so narrow at these points that the only passageway lay through town. The third day brought the first hard climbing, which had to be accomplished in the midst of a daylong rain. The party was not able to rest till near midnight. The hardest and the highest mountain was Haute Luce, which rises some seven thousand feet above sea level. The entire day was spent in precipitous climbing or descending. But this was only a preparation for the following day, which brought them to the frigid Col du Bonhomme, a pass over one of the mightiest of the arms of Mont Blanc itself. With the massif towering to their left the refugees ascended the snow-covered ridge blasted by the icy winds off Mont Blanc. They were in the midst of the worst weather possible—"the snow to our knees and the rain on our backs."²⁴ They made their way along this awful route and finally got down to the valley of the Isère near Bourg St. Maurice. They camped overnight at Scez, a little village upstream, where the Isère Valley begins to back up south toward the Col de l'Iseran. The people here, who at first thought to offer resistance, decided for the better part and provided supplies to the expedition, to the mutual advantage of both parties. They continued up this valley past Ste.-Foy and Tignes, where today a dam impounds the river water to form a sizable lake.

On Thursday, 22 August, they climbed Mount Iseran and passed through the highest road pass in the Alps, the Col de l'Iseran.²⁵ The modern road up from Val d'Isère ascends steeply by a series of switchbacks to the chilly heights above timberline and then winds in rising curves over the wind-swept Alpine meadows up to the isolated pass itself. Even in summer the aspect is forbidding, set amid bare rocks which rise to

²⁴ Arnaud, p. 71: "*Le matin on monta, ou plutôt on grimpa, la neige jusqu'aux genoux, & la pluie sur le dos sur une des plus rudes croupes de la montagne appelée du bon homme.*"

²⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 80-81.

snow-covered peaks on either side. Over this forlorn route now crawled the troop of Waldenses, going down the rolling ridges on the south side, down a steep canyon and then turning sharply to descend to Bonneval-sur-Arc, where they were well received. The journey across the Col de l'Iseran took them over one of the more remote regions of Savoy not frequently visited even today. By this means they avoided the more populated sections in which lay Albertville and the towns of the Maurienne, traversed upon the occasion of their emigration from Piedmont in 1687.

When they had descended the Arc River a little way, they joined the route they formerly had taken into exile. But word had come to them already from shepherds on the Col de l'Iseran that the enemy had finally assembled in force to block their way at the Mont Cenis Pass. Here they would have to fight if anywhere. The Savoyards knew they must cross the Mont Cenis if they came by way of Mount Iseran. The travelers prepared for whatever lay ahead and proceeded. On the road they surprised the caravan carrying the equipment of Cardinal Angelo Banuzzi, who was going to Rome to attend a conclave of the Sacred College. Leaving the rest alone, they took the horses and mules, much to the chagrin of the ecclesiastical personage.

"Ce que les Vaudois souffrirent pour traverser le grand, & le petit mont Cenis surpasse l'imagination," wrote Arnaud almost in unbelief of the events which he himself had witnessed.²⁶ Indeed, the combination of geographical obstacles and armed opposition was enough to discourage the bravest. They climbed toward the summit by a circuitous trail, only to find their way barred by the enemy. They were obliged to stumble back down the way they had come and climb up another way to get around the Savoyards. Both they and their hostages were at the point of exhaustion. And they had not yet won through! They faced a major body of French soldiers at a bridge over the Dora Riparia at Salbertrand. Dividing into three detachments, the Waldenses attacked at the center and from both above and below the bridge at the same time and after two hours' hard fighting won the victory that permitted entry into their beloved valleys. They were now free in the valley of the Dora on the Italian side, only a mountain pass or two from their homeland.

Although they had been almost without sleep for three days and nights, they took advantage of the momentary quiet to mount the slopes of the last mountain ridge separating them from their ancestral valleys, the high crags between the Dora and Chisone rivers. The upper part of

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

the latter was the beginning of the homeland, the famous Pragela. Down poured the returning Waldenses. And as they approached, the Catholic priests and their supporters who had come into the valleys fled away. Across the Chisone marched the troop and up the next mountain—now welcome because it was already home to them. On top, as they viewed their valleys, they held the first Sunday service at home. Finally they climbed over the Colle del Pis and descended to the heart, the highest little village of the valley of San Martin, Balziglia. This was to be one of the prime bastions of defense in the long struggle that followed to reclaim and hold their land until the duke of Savoy was forced to conclude a favorable peace permitting the resettlement of his wandering people. That day was Tuesday, 27 August, the eleventh day of the journey.

The Glorious Return itself was accomplished. Two important actions remained. The first was the reconquest of the valleys. The second was the return of the bulk of the Waldenses from their various scattered places of refuge. Many months were to pass before these goals were finally accomplished. But the next day after arrival at Balziglia the little army proceeded downstream and up the branch valley to Prali, where for the first time in one of their own chapels they held public worship. During the next week they secured many of the other valleys and reached the Pellice, some of whose towns they recaptured. There, near Bobbio, on the second Sunday as they held divine worship, gathered on the chestnut-shaded hillside of Sibaud, surrounded by vineyards, peaceful together for the first time in a long time—there they gave praise to God, listened to a sermon on Luke 16:16 ("The law and the prophets were until John; since then the good news of the kingdom of God is preached, and every one enters it violently"), and finally bound themselves in an ancient oath and solemn covenant as follows, called the Oath of Sibaud:

God, by his grace having brought us happily back to the heritage of our fathers, to reestablish there the pure service of our holy religion, in continuation and fulfillment of the great enterprise which this great God of armies had hitherto carried on for us—

We, pastors, captains, and other officers, swear and promise before the living God, and on the life of our souls, to keep union and order among ourselves; and not to separate or disunite ourselves from one another, while God shall preserve in us life, even if we should be reduced to three or four in number; and never to treat with the enemy without participation of our council of war. . . .

And we, soldiers, promise and swear this day before God to be obedient to the orders of our officers, and to continue faithful to them, even to the last drop of our blood. . . .

And we, officers, promise to take heed that all the soldiers preserve well their

arms and ammunition; and especially to chastize very severely any of them who swear and blaspheme the holy name of God.

And in order that union, which is the soul of all our affairs, may remain always unbroken among us, the officers swear fidelity to the soldiers, and the soldiers to the officers;

All together promising to our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ to rescue, as far as it is possible for us, the dispersed remnants of our brethren from the yoke which oppresses them, that along with them we may reestablish and maintain in these valleys the kingdom of the gospel, even unto death.

In witness whereof, we swear to observe this present engagement so long as we shall live.²⁷

E. Later History

The real test came after the dramatic return. Although Piedmontese forces, aided by French troops, had been caught off-balance by the rapid and skillfully directed march from Geneva, repeated efforts were made by large armies to dislodge the stubborn mountaineers from their fastnesses. Of these the chief was the Balsille or Balziglia, a wild region near the head of a branch of the tortuous valley of Masello. All during the hard winter of 1689-90 the little force held out in the crags, until the Piedmontese were utterly exhausted. More and more the actual operations were taken over by French troops as the Piedmontese retired from the scene.

But, at the same time, relations between Piedmont and France had grown worse. In 1690 Duke Victor Amadeus joined a coalition against King Louis XIV, whose overweening ambitions were increasingly distasteful to most of the other European rulers. French troops had to leave. The Waldenses found themselves once again accepted as citizens of their native land. The redoubtable fighting pastor, Henri Arnaud, found good cause to reflect at length on the theme of God's miraculous providential arm in the rescue of his people against seemingly impossible odds.²⁸ Families now returned to the valleys to pick up as much as possible of the old life. During the period in which Piedmont remained allied with France it was difficult if not impossible for any Waldenses to follow the path of the glorious little army. At one time a Captain Bourgeois, loyal to Arnaud, arranged a second expedition through Savoy, com-

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 118-20, as translated, with some changes I have made, in Muston, II, 52-53.

²⁸ Arnaud, pp. 397-401.

posed partly of Waldenses and partly of French and Swiss adventurers. Over a thousand succeeded in crossing to Savoy; but there they were stopped and forced to return to Geneva.²⁹ By 1690, however, most had returned home. By 1694 Piedmont again made peace with France, but this time the duke formally guaranteed the safety of his much-abused subjects. Native Waldenses were promised freedom of residence and worship in their valleys. Even so, the French king brought pressure to have the French Reformed refugees, many of whom had also settled in the valleys, expelled. Victor Amadeus was induced to agree, but he was in no hurry to carry out the plan. Not until 1698 did he feel compelled to expel the French. By this time of course the French Reformed and the Italian Waldenses, who had so much in common, including religion and language, were considerably mixed together. Many families contained both groups.

In 1698, therefore, occurred another sizable migration from the valleys. Most of these exiles were French refugees not native to Piedmont. About half of the pastors fell in this category and had to leave. Not quite three thousand persons migrated to Switzerland and thence, for the most part, to Württemberg. In several groups, each with a pastor in attendance, they took the well-trodden road to Geneva. Some were Waldenses of native Piedmont origin who were involved as members of families.³⁰ Some of them settled in Bern and Zürich; others took ships down the Rhine to various points. Most went to Württemberg, whose ruler, Duke Eberhard Louis, was favorably disposed. As usual the faculty of Tübingen interposed theological difficulties, overcome finally with considerable effort. The exiles could remain only a short while in Switzerland itself, which, although aided notably by donations sent from Holland and England, could not sustain the burden for more than a few months over winter. Yet thorny problems in addition to theological questions stood in the way of settlement in such places as Württemberg. The Württembergers, if they were to accept refugees at all, desired to distribute them widely among existing communities in which they might, it was hoped, be assimilated. But the refugees themselves wanted to stay together.³¹ Their ideal was the establishment of new villages where they might be together and at the same time be free from traditional restrictions imposed by the native inhabitants. Financial help and diplomatic pressure from other Protestant powers finally carried the day, and provision was made for settlement in Württemberg. In all these negotiations

²⁹ Mörikofer, pp. 272-74.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 305, gives the figure 2,883, including 7 pastors, among whom was Arnaud.

³¹ Muston, II, 116.

Henri Arnaud was, as usual, in the forefront. The letters patent under which the refugees were finally received were carefully drawn and fair.³² The refugees were guaranteed full religious liberty, except that they would be expected to observe Lutheran festivals and fast days. They were exempted from certain taxes during the period of early settlement. Land was given them in the districts of Maulbronn and Leonberg from that part which had lain uncultivated since the Thirty Years' War. There they might build their own villages. They should possess the right of local self-government. They should be free to emigrate when they wished. They should have freedom of trade, including import and export, subject to the common duties.

Under these arrangements several permanent settlements were made in Württemberger lands. Villages sprang up in long-neglected areas. They typically carried names reminiscent of the old valleys of Piedmont: Perouse, Pinache, Luserna, Serres, Chorres, Sengach, Schönberg, Queyras, Petit Villar, Pauscelot, Grand Villar. Some of the hamlets survive as picturesque German villages in a delightful hilly countryside. Arnaud lived among these refugees until his death in 1721. His tomb was laid in the little church at Schönberg.

Since they were settled in tight units more or less separated from the native Württembergers, the refugees maintained their own way of life for a long time. They married strictly within the local community and did not mingle easily with the Germans. They brought with them the skills which they had inherited, particularly the cultivation of mulberry trees and potatoes, both of which they introduced into Germany. They also had vineyards and herds of sheep. Gradually, however, assimilation did take place, linguistically, culturally, religiously. From the beginning the Lutheran authorities looked for the eventual union of churches. The Waldenses had at the time of their settlement made a distinction between their faith and the Calvinist confession (contrasting in this respect to the prevailing trend among the Waldenses). After a few generations the use of both French and the Alpine dialect disappeared. By the nineteenth century the assimilation was almost complete, including the union of the churches. The last general synod of the Waldensian churches of Württemberg was held at Stuttgart in 1823.³³

Even before the settlements began in Württemberg other French and Waldenses had gone on to Hesse-Darmstadt, where Landgrave Ernest Louis offered generous terms of settlement which became a model for

³² The provisions of settlement are paraphrased in *ibid.*, pp. 118–20. Compare with the terms in Hesse-Darmstadt, quoted on pp. 140–43.

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 134.

those of Württemberg. These communities farther down the Rhine maintained close contact with the Württembergers, held synods in common, and helped each other in mutual aid. Since the Hessian communities in general remained poorer, help came more frequently from Württemberg. At the beginning of the nineteenth century some of the families, including a few Waldenses, migrated to America, where they settled first around Philadelphia and then farther west along the Mississippi. In addition to Hesse, some of the original migrants settled in Baden in 1699, and in Hanau. Undoubtedly these folk, a mixture of Waldenses and French Reformed—largely the latter—settled in other communities. Probably their story is best understood in terms of the larger migration of French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes.

After the events at the end of the seventeenth century the native Waldenses who had returned and settled in their valleys continued to experience occasional persecution. But they succeeded in holding to their basic position, which meant the right of residence in their ancestral valleys and the practice of their religion. In spite of recurrent attempts to wean them from their "heresy" they stood firm down to the present time. In the eighteenth century they were caught more than once in the complicated webs of dynastic power politics—as in the War of the Spanish Succession. In the nineteenth century they enjoyed increasing religious liberty, especially from 1848 on.

An interesting comparison may be made between the first wave of migration in 1687 and the second one of 1698. The earlier refugees were stubbornly determined to stay as close to their valleys as possible and to return at the earliest possible moment. They scarcely considered the prospect of permanent settlement anywhere else at all. Within two years they were back home, having returned in force by military action. The later refugees, on the other hand, were more or less resigned to at least an extended exile. Eventually they settled permanently in various foreign lands and were assimilated. One reason for this difference in attitude may be the very large proportion and influence of the French Reformed who had already fled from France and been living, for perhaps ten years, in the Waldensian valleys. They were refugees twice over. They did not share the deep-set attachment to the valleys. They were already uprooted and had little hope of returning to their "homes" in France. Louis XIV was extraordinarily long-lived, and his successors did not offer much hope of improved conditions. *Le desert* was not an attractive place to live. Only after the French Revolution did conditions change sufficiently to permit practical repatriation, and by then it was too late.

The Waldenses themselves, as a specific case, represent a group of refugees who would never settle for anything less than return to their valleys with freedom of worship. For this they were willing to undergo centuries of hardship and to make repeated forlorn attempts to secure their rights in the midst of a predominantly hostile population in a land ruled by Roman Catholic princes and traditionally devoted to the pope, who himself was one of the chief princes. That they succeeded, not only in going home but in staying there, is one of the miracles of modern church history.

THE SALZBURGERS

This map illustrates the geographical context of the Salzburgers, showing their movement from the Alpine region of Salzburg and Tyrol into the Danube valley. Key features include:

- Regions:** Upper Austria, Lower Austria, Tyrol, Salzburg, Carinthia, Styria, and parts of Germany, Italy, and Yugoslavia.
- Rivers:** Danube, Inn, Salzach, Enns, Mur, and Drau.
- Cities and Towns:** Linz, Vienna, Klosterneuburg, Kremsmünster, Steyr, Gmunden, Salzburg, Berchtesgaden, Dürrenberg, Gosern, Hallstatt, Werfen, Bischofshofen, Goldegg, St. Johann, Wagna, Radstadt, Judenburg, Graz, Bruck, and Klagenfurt.
- Geographical Features:** Salzammergut, Berchtesgaden, Hohe Tauern, and Grossglockner.

2

Chapter 23

The Salzburgers

*I bin ein armer Exulant
Also thu i mi schreiba:
Ma thuet mi aus dem Vaterland
Um Gottes Wort vertreiba.**

Schaitberger's *Exulantenlied*.

The dialect verse at the head of this chapter is the beginning of the famous "Exiles' Hymn" written by the man who more than any other personified the spirit of the Lutheran Salzburger refugees, Josef Schaitberger. It may well serve as a sort of "national anthem" of the world's nationless exiles. It certainly belongs in collections of historic hymnody, along with Luther's "A Mighty Fortress" and Žižka's "Battle Song." Unlike these, however, it breathes more the spirit of the Suffering Servant than of *Christus Victor*.

Today Austria is a Roman Catholic country, although Protestantism is a small, increasing minority. It is still a country in which the Protestant place of worship is expected to be located unobtrusively on a side street, while the Catholic *Dom* is the spectacularly baroque showplace of the city. But if the traveler wanders off into the mountain valleys, he will find an occasional village in which the principal, if not the only, church is a Protestant chapel. More probably he will pass by many Catholic churches unaware that the buildings were erected by Protestants for

*"I am a poor exile,
Thus I call myself;
They expel me from the fatherland
For the sake of God's Word."

evangelical worship. If his eye is trained to see history in architecture, he will notice that, although the interior of the cathedral in Klagenfurt is pure Catholic baroque—magnificently so—the outside gives clear evidence of sober Protestant origin. Throughout the mountain resort area of the famous Salzkammergut are little villages, cradled each in its own deep valley (*Tal*), which two hundred years ago were full of Lutheran “heretics.”

All this is to say that the history of the Salzburg refugees of the eighteenth century is the history of the virtual eclipse of Protestantism in Austrian lands. The policy which led to the persecution of the East Tyroleans, the expulsion of the Salzburgers, and the “transmigration” of Carinthians was intended to extirpate non-Catholic Christianity from the ancestral domains of the Hapsburgs. It almost succeeded.

A. Beginnings

Generally the history of Austrian Protestantism is little known. It is one of the secondary areas in which the impact of the Reformation was rather remote. But the Reformation *did* flow at many points into Hapsburg lands.¹ A very important segment of Anabaptist history is centered in Tyrol, Austria, and Moravia. Transylvania (Siebenbürgen), located in the southeast of former greater Hungary and now in Romania, was for decades a prime refuge for Protestants, particularly of the more radical anti-Trinitarian persuasion. But the development in which we are particularly interested here is the rise of Lutheranism in the very heart of Hapsburg tradition, Austria itself. Especially significant were the provinces of Salzburg, East Tyrol, Carinthia, and Styria, together with some mountain valleys of Upper Austria. Steyr is a beautiful old city with a picturesque old town square surrounded by substantial old houses. Although the present-day exteriors are deceptively baroque, the houses themselves were built by prosperous Lutheran citizens long before the expulsions which brought all property into Catholic hands. Gmunden is another little city which from the time of the Reformation was strongly Protestant. Radstadt, high up in the Oberennstal, was another important early Lutheran center. While the Anabaptists were gathering, and being

¹ An excellent monograph on Austrian Protestantism is Grete Mecenseffy, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Oesterreich*. For Hungary see Mihály Bucsay, *Geschichte des Protestantismus in Ungarn*. I benefited much from an extended interview with Dr. Mecenseffy in Vienna in August 1965 as we shared in the activities of the International Congress of Historical Sciences.

driven out of Tyrol in violent waves of persecution, Lutherans were quietly developing in the less important urban centers and in mountain valleys, although not in Tyrol itself.

The history of the Reformation in Austria is also closely involved in two major politico-military events: the chronic threat of Turkish expansion up the Danube and the Thirty Years' War. Both of these events have already been discussed. The Turkish threat had a mixed effect on the fortunes of Lutheranism. It made the Hapsburg government more sensitive to internal disruptions, but it offered a distracting challenge to Hapsburg authority which made possible the quiet expansion of Lutheranism. As an old saying had it, "*Der Turk ist der Lutherischen Glück*" ("The Turk is the Lutheran's good fortune"). In the worst times the Moslem power on the Danube at least offered refuge from the scourge of inquisition visited by Christians on Christians. On the other hand, the Thirty Years' War was an unmitigated disaster everywhere in central Europe. This most violent form of Counter Reformation brought great suffering to Protestants of all kinds from the Palatinate to Bohemia and from Hesse to Hungary.

B. Seventeenth Century

The disaster of White Hill in the Thirty Years' War marked the end of free Protestantism in Bohemia. In spite of the late entry of Lutheran Gustavus Adolphus the Protestant cause in the varied Hapsburg possessions suffered everywhere. Nevertheless, the Treaty of Westphalia, which at long last ended not only the Thirty Years' War but also the unhappy series of "wars of religion," introduced another compromise formula into the traditionally absolute area of religious truth. To the *cuius regio, eius religio* principle of the Peace of Augsburg, which permitted a prince's choice between Catholicism and Lutheranism, was added the third choice of Calvinism. Furthermore, in Roman Catholic lands provision was made for Protestants along three possible lines: (1) toleration with the right of private worship in houses in town, (2) freedom of open worship in the country, (3) freedom of emigration with grant of an extended period of grace for disposition of property. This period was defined as five years, or three years in the case of those who changed their religion after 1648. Each government would establish its policy under one or another of these terms.

These provisions were not adhered to strictly. In Bohemia Protestantism was simply outlawed by a decree of 1650 which ordered all residents

to be converted to Roman Catholicism.² Some 150,000 persons fled the country as a result. Irenic leaders like Cardinal Harrach worked to mitigate the harsh effects, but without much success. During the 1650's, Protestantism, on the surface at least, disappeared in Bohemia. Something of the same situation prevailed in Austria, where leaders of both church and state were not interested in extending the more tolerant possibilities of the treaty provisions. The period of *Geheimprotestantismus* ("secret Protestantism") began, to last well over a hundred years. There were a few Lutherans in the cities, but most were to be found in the mountain country, Upper Austria, the Salzkammergut, Upper Carinthia, Upper Styria. Lutherans were numerous in the higher reaches of most of the major river systems—Salzach, Enns, Mur, Drau, etc.

This was the situation, then, when the long series of persecutions began which attempted the extirpation of Protestantism from all Austria. Although there had been sporadic efforts from the late sixteenth century on, the first specific program leading to a refugee movement was the expulsion from the remote Defereggental in East Tyrol. Couched under the south side of the Hohe Tauern, almost in the shadow of the Gross Glockner and the Gross Venediger, lies the present-day province of East Tyrol, so called because it is now separated by Italian territory from the main Tyrolean region to the northwest. Where the upper Drau and the Isel rivers meet is Lienz, the chief city and capital, in the broad valley below Iselberg Pass. Looking down from the pass one can see the city, with the Drau disappearing toward the southwest and the Isel Valley plowing into the mountains to the northwest. The old town, with its two small squares separated by a short narrow street, is not much changed from the days of persecution. A road runs up the Isel Valley toward the mountain village of Matrei. On the way one passes on the left (west) the spectacular opening of a secondary valley so narrow that the road into it must clamber up around the escarpment. Beyond is one of the remotest regions of the southern Austrian Alps, a self-contained valley almost completely isolated by huge surrounding mountains.

In this valley, toward the end of the seventeenth century, lived a couple of thousand people, of whom over half were Lutherans. This fact was discovered by two scandalized Capuchin friars during an expedition.³ Protestantism had probably been here ever since the Reformation period, but it had been kept quietly under cover. Now, in 1684, the extent of heresy in the Defereggental was exposed. A decree was issued ordering all

² E. Préclin and E. Jarry, *Les luttes politiques et doctrinales aux XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles*, in *Histoire de l'Église*, XIX^e, 396.

³ Mecenseffy, p. 191.

Protestants to get out within fourteen days. They were further required to leave all children behind for Catholic upbringing. Both instructions were in direct violation of provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia, under which freedom of emigration was not to be interfered with, and an extended period of grace was assured for settlement of affairs. The exodus began in December 1684 and straggled on for about two years. Altogether over a thousand people were involved. In midwinter they were forced to go over the Brenner Pass northward through unfriendly Catholic territory toward sanctuary in Protestant lands of south Germany. They scattered into Augsburg, Ulm, Memmingen, Nördlingen, Stuttgart, and Frankfurt am Main. Efforts to gain release of the children, who were to be reunited with their families, did not meet with much success. The Roman Catholic authorities were convinced that they held a superior claim to the children to assure their upbringing in the true faith, protected from the heretical beliefs of their parents, who were thereby disqualified. This attempt to keep back the children of expellees was common to the whole history of the Austrian emigration. It was not always successfully accomplished, and occasionally children escaped later.

About the same time another expulsion took place farther north near Salzburg itself. It is important not so much for the numbers involved as for the chief figure, Josef Schaitberger, a sturdy Lutheran miner in the ancient elevated mining village of Dürrenberg, near Hallein, south of Salzburg. Since the steep road up the mountain is no longer open, access now is via a cableway. The old salt mines are still in operation, and the tiny village is scattered widely over a couple of miles of beautiful mountain meadow. High up toward the end of a wandering meadow trail is the old home of Josef Schaitberger, a fine solid Alpine farmhouse, now inhabited, as are all the other houses, by Roman Catholics scarcely aware that once Dürrenberg and its miners were almost as solidly Protestant. Far off to the north are visible the spires and battlements of Salzburg, the archepiscopal center chiefly responsible for the sufferings imposed on the Lutherans.⁴

Schaitberger, along with other mining people, was expelled from the province of Salzburg. He found his way to refuge in Nürnberg, where he settled down as a cabinetmaker and wire puller for the rest of his life. A number of significant writings came from his pen. In fact, he was the chief literary representative of the Salzburg emigration; his account of the emigration is one of the principal sources. His devotional

⁴ Upon the occasion of a personal visit 15 September 1965 the citizens were very helpful in directing me to Schaitberger's house, which is completely unmarked. The *Hausfrau* willingly confirmed that this was indeed his old home.

Evangelischer Sendbrief became a famous spiritual resource for his fellow refugees. However, his fame rests with his great refugee hymn, the *Exulantenlied*. It survives in varying texts, of which the original dialect form follows:

*I bin ein armer Exulant
Also thu i mi schreiba:
Ma thuet mi aus dem Vaterland
Um Gottes Wort vertreiba.*

*Das wass i wol, Herr Jesu Christ,
Es ist dir a so ganga:
Jetzt will i dein Nachfolger sein.
Herr, mach's nach deinem Verlanga.*

*Den Globa hob i frey bekennt,
Des dorf i mi nit schäma,
Wen no mi glei ein Ketzer nennt
Un thut mirs Leba nehma.*

*Ketta und Banda wor mi mein Ehr,
Um Jesu willa zdulta
Un dieses mocht die Glaubens-Lehr
Un nit mein böß Verschulda.⁵*

I am a poor exile,
Thus I call myself;
They expel me from the fatherland
For the sake of God's Word.

I know this well, Lord Jesus Christ,
So it also went with you;
Now will I be your follower,
Lord, according to your demand.

I have freely confessed the faith,
Of that I need not be ashamed,
Even if men call me a heretic
And take away my life.

Chains and bonds have become my glory,
To suffer for Jesus' sake.

⁵ MSS as quoted in C. F. Arnold, *Die Ausrottung des Protestantismus in Salzburg unter Erzbischof Firmian*, I, 9.

And the lesson of faith brought this about,
And not my evil guilt.

Details of his life are not clear. Three times he went back to Austria at considerable peril. When he tried once more in 1707, he was arrested, but later released. He had had to leave his two children behind at his first departure, and both were raised strong Catholics. But one of them he was able later to reclaim for Lutheranism. We have no full record of the terrible tensions under which he must have lived, thus witnessing the division of his own family on account of his loyalty to his faith. He remained to the end of his life a lay theologian and lay preacher of rare ability. Little information remains on his reform activities in Nürnberg or on his relations with larger movements represented by the *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg. His personal reminiscences are helpful on the background of life in Austria, where he learned the evangelical faith secretly from his parents—"das geschahe alles heimlich."⁶ The secret faith had to be kept from both political and ecclesiastical authorities. When Schaitberger was exiled, about a thousand others went with him, and about six hundred children were held back as their parents departed. The elector of Brandenburg was especially concerned about this violation of the provisions of the Treaty of Westphalia and did what he could to obtain release of the children.

Some of the exiles of the period found their way down the Rhine to Holland. An old illustration portrays the stages of the long journey from Austria to the Low Countries, through Passau, Regensburg, and Nijmegen.⁷ Most of them settled in south Germany with the assistance of such leaders as Schaitberger in Nürnberg and Samuel Urlsperger in Augsburg. As a young man the latter had come under the influence of English Puritanism during a visit to England. Throughout his long career in Augsburg he was one of the stalwart defenders of the Protestant faith in that region and of the refugees driven from Austria.

In other parts of the Hapsburg domains Protestants had difficulties. Styria and Carinthia both harbored many Lutherans, especially in the mountains. Throughout the seventeenth century, however, they were persecuted. It looked for a while as if Protestantism would be completely

⁶ Schaitberger, quoted in Johann Gustav Reinbeck, *Einige Hundert um der Evangelischen Religion willen vertriebene und von Sr. Königl. Majestät zu preussischen Colonisten angenommene Salzburger* (facsimile in M. Schwesinger, *Salzburger Emigranten, 1731*), p. 19 (42). Cf. further, on Schaitberger, Arnold, I, 7 ff.

⁷ D. Gerhard May, ed., *Die evangelische Kirche in Österreich*, plate 27. This picture was called to my attention by the scholarly young pastor of the Lutheran congregation in Hallstatt.

extinguished. But such was the resilience of the faith that by the end of the century Lutherans were again in evidence even in Graz itself.⁸ This city for many years demonstrated remarkable Protestant strength and was one of the principal objectives of the transmigration of the eighteenth century.

C. Eighteenth Century

1. *The Salzburgers of 1731-32.* The eighteenth century dawned with the conclusion of the War of the Spanish Succession and the Treaty of Utrecht—and with the continued problem of the Hapsburg succession in Austria. Emperor Charles VI was deeply concerned that the family inheritance continue to his daughter, Maria Theresia. By the famous Pragmatic Sanction this was supposed to be guaranteed, along with the further principle of the indivisibility of the Hapsburg possessions. But it would take more than a piece of paper to assure so great a possession to one lone woman, even the redoubtable Maria Theresa, destined to become one of the most famous women of modern times and a veritable mother of her Austrian people. Thus from the very beginning the troubles of the Austrian Protestants were involved in the by then much weightier matters of dynastic politics. The age of the religious wars was at long last quite over. Realists had taken control of political power—if dynastic politicians could be described as realists.

Part of the Austrian domain of central Europe was the ecclesiastical principality of Salzburg, under the vigorous rule of its prince-archbishop, Leopold Freiherr von Firmian (1727-44). Curiously, this territory was one of the centers of Lutheran influence. Reaching out from Salzburg, which itself was dominated by the huge pile of the archepiscopal palace-castle, ran many streams up long valleys into the heart of the Austrian Alps, the Hohe and Niedere Tauern. Deep in these mountain fastnesses—today a widespread magnificent vacation land—hid many villages, which harbored many a Lutheran. Nobody knew their number although the archbishop suspected it was great. Up the main valley of the Salzach lay the region called the Pongau, delightfully speckled with pretty little communities, each with its village church. Only a few miles upstream lay Hallein with its mountain mining village of Dürrenberg, already famous for the expulsion of Josef Schaitberger. Farther on, beyond the narrows

⁸ Paul Dedic, "Duldung und Aufenthalt evangelischer Ausländer in Graz am Ende des 17. Jahrhunderts," *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte des Protestantismus im ehemaligen und im neuen Österreich*, 57 Jg. (1936), 71.

of Pass Lueg, lay Werfen, Bischofshofen, St. Johann, and St. Veit. Off to the east were Radstadt and the picturesque village of Wagrain. Up a side valley lay Gastein, today along the highway to the Tauern Tunnel through the divide to Obervellach in the Möll-Drau Valley. All of this was Land Salzburg, part of the rambling mountainous possession of his princely majesty the archbishop, almost autonomous in authority under the general sovereignty of his imperial majesty in Vienna. In these communities festered the sores of heresy, which the prelate feared would grow ever larger and more painful to the *corpus Christianorum*. There were still other places, like Goldegg, in the mountains back of St. Veit, and Goisern and Hallstatt, sequestered under the tremendous Dachstein in a salient of Upper Austria. It was enough to give a responsible ecclesiastical statesman nightmares. And whatever else he may have been, Leopold Freiherr von Firmian was responsible.

He was fortunate in enjoying the services of an equally responsible chancellor, one Hieronymus Christian von Rall, a fanatic Catholic willing to use Jesuit power and influence for what it was worth to him and his master. In 1728 the Jesuit mission had been founded in Salzburg land. Two by two the diligent emissaries probed deep into the religious life of the territory and quickly found that all was not well. A secret deputation was set up for control of religious affairs, and its chairman was von Rall. In 1731 it began investigations in the communities of Land Salzburg. To the astonishment of the officials, around twenty thousand persons were found to be adherents of the Protestant heresy.⁹ A census was carried on ostensibly under the provision of the Treaty of Westphalia, which permitted three forms of Christian belief (Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist) as recognized by the emperor. The figures which resulted varied in different reports from 19,000 to nearly 21,000.

Archbishop Firmian decided that strong action was required. Hence, in an order dated 31 October 1731, he required all persons who did not profess the Roman Catholic faith to leave the territory within eight days. Von Rall was in the midst of this plan, as of all else. The order was sent out in early November and was published on 11 November, a Sunday, immediately after worship service in all parishes. The eighteen-page document stated that all non-Catholic inhabitants were *ipso facto* subversive rebels who did not come under the protection of any treaty regulations,

⁹ On these procedures see Mecenseffy, pp. 193-98; Arnold, I, 38-50; Reinbeck, pp. 30 ff. (56). A special study of the political factors in the 1731-32 migration is Josef K. Mayr, "Die Emigration der Salzburger Protestanten von 1731-1732," *Mitteilungen des Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, LXIX (1929), 1-64; LXX (1930), 65-128; LXXI (1931), 129-92.

and hence the three-year period of grace allowed for disposition of property did not apply.¹⁰ All the more was Salzburg free because it had never, argued the archbishop, been a party to the arrangements for protection of religious minorities. The specific requirement now was that those without real estate must be out of the country within eight days, and those with property within one to three months. The argument that the Protestants were all rebels convinced no one. The *Corpus Evangelicorum* rejected the idea as early as the middle of December, 1731.

Clearly the government did not realize how difficult it would be to expel several thousand citizens without prior arrangement. The surrounding Catholic territories had no desire to increase their Protestant population, much less to accept penniless beggars from Salzburg. No country as yet had offered asylum. Everything was supposed to happen much too fast. Moreover, Salzburg failed to take into account the complexities of imperial politics in the eighteenth century. Emperor Charles VI was not nearly so anxious as his archbishop to disrupt the land with mass expulsions of valuable citizens, even though they might unfortunately be of the Protestant persuasion. He counseled mildness and patience. He had no wish to risk united opposition from the powerful Protestant forces in and out of the Empire on account of the flouting of the Treaty of Westphalia. The influence of the nearby *Corpus Evangelicorum* in Regensburg, to say nothing of vigorous Prussia, Sweden, Denmark, Great Britain, and Holland, was not to be ignored.¹¹ These things Firmian did not understand. Even the Catholic rulers of states like Bavaria did not approve of the unilateral dumping of heretics into other countries. This was the eighteenth century, not the sixteenth; Firmian was living in the wrong era. And nobody trusted the Jesuits, who were even then beginning to ride to their downfall through improper involvement in power politics. Neither the emperor nor the duke of Bavaria was enthusiastic about sending troops to help the bishop get rid of his unwanted subjects. Early in December Charles VI wrote formally to the archbishop urging him to use restraint. The requirements of the Pragmatic Sanction and the plan of securing Maria Theresa on the Hapsburg throne called for careful maneuvering, which the bumptious archbishop was endangering. Through it all the latter strove to appear all ways at once—pacific toward the Protestant deputies at Regensburg, firmly orthodox toward the imperial power in Vienna, reassuring toward his own Protestants, and agitating toward his Catholic subjects. The degree of influence exer-

¹⁰ Mayr, LXIX, 39–40; LXX, 65, 71–77.

¹¹ Mayr, in LXIX, 18–26, discusses the problems involving the provisions of Westphalia.

cised by the Jesuits is difficult to measure. They had a strong place in Salzburg, and the emperor's confessor and spiritual adviser, Veit Tönnemann, S.J., urged a strong line. Even the papal curia was politically interested.

Unerringly through this maze of intrigue Archbishop Firmian pursued his plan for purifying the faith of his realm. The census showed that the principal centers of Lutheran infection were, in order, Radstadt, Werfen, Goldegg, St. Johann, and Wagrain, with Bischofshofen, Gastein, and others trailing with less than a thousand Protestants each.¹² The breakdown of the figures in comparison with the total population is quite interesting. The following table shows (1) the population of the chief communities, (2) the number listed as Protestants, and (3) the number of those who subsequently emigrated in the early 1730's.

<i>Town</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Protestants</i>	<i>Emigrants</i>
Radstadt	7,250	4,805	3,040
Werfen	3,730	3,166	2,580
Goldegg	3,400	3,100	2,140
St. Johann	2,540	2,540*	2,020
Wagrain	1,820	1,608	1,610
Bischofshofen	2,110	743	740
Gastein	3,800	728	700

*Alternate figure: 2,432.

These figures are not altogether reliable, but they show that, especially in the smaller communities, practically the whole Protestant population left. Almost no one remained in St. Johann and Wagrain. The figures do not provide complete totals, for only villages of the Pongau are included here. The people had been encouraged to state their faith according to the three permitted forms. Two documents were issued; one, public, required all inhabitants to assemble for instructions regarding the announced expulsion. The other, secret, authorized agents (1) to conduct individual investigations of the citizens in isolation from one another, so that none might know what the others had replied, (2) to use utmost pressure short of physical force to obtain full statements of incriminating nature, and (3) to keep all of these interrogations secret.¹³ This process apparently worked rather well in Werfen, where the people gathered

¹² Arnold, I, 73; also reported in most other sources. A detailed monograph on the participation of Gastein is Gertraud Schwarz-Oberhummer, "Die Auswanderung der Gasteiner Protestanten unter Erzbischof Leopold Anton v. Firmian," *Mitteilungen des Gesellschaft für Salzburger Landeskunde*, XCIV (1954), 1-85.

¹³ Arnold, II, 16.

innocently and were properly pressured by authorities. Many gave self-incriminating information or implicated others, and the isolation of individuals broke down the spirit of united witness. Not so in St. Johann. The people of this picturesque town were not so easily taken in by the ecclesiastical inquisitors. They stood ominously united and refused to submit to isolated questioning. As a result, the agents failed to obtain the desired evidence. St. Johann would not admit that the citizens had committed crimes worthy of punishment. "*Was Verbröchen?*" they asked. "*Wann's vill verbochen haben, warumb strafft mans nit? Wir wissen um kein Verbröchen.*"¹⁴ In Wagrain, squeezed in its tortuous deep valley, the whole Protestant congregation stood together and announced they would not depart from their faith or from their possessions, and they would either live there or die.

Nevertheless, troops quartered on the citizens in their homes and carefully selected to oppress the Lutherans among them brought most families to submission sooner or later. That winter streams of refugees straggled out of Salzburg territory into south Germany, headed for Prussia, where the king promised them refuge and land to settle on. Before the end of the year many had already left. Johann Gustav Reinbeck's contemporary account describes the routes followed by some of the groups. About 800 persons went down the Salzach Valley to the Bavarian border, where they had to wait eighteen days for papers and funds. Each of the major groups was accompanied by an agent of the Salzburg archdiocese who was to see to their successful departure and help arrange transit through territories not at all favorable to these movements. This group took six days to cross Bavaria to the Swabian border, where they were left by their conductor.¹⁵ They then proceeded to Wilhelm and Schongau (south-west of modern Munich), suffering much from cold and exposure. From there they went on toward Kaufbeuren, Memmingen, Augsburg, and Kempten but received radically different receptions on the way. Local princes prevented them from going on to Kempten at all, and they were diverted to Kaufbeuren, which was jammed with refugees. Many went on to Memmingen, others to Ulm. In the latter city they had a very civil reception and were privileged to worship in the *Barfüsser* (Franciscan) church. They were even helped on their way by the Catholic clergy of Ochsenhausen.

Another group proceeded to Augsburg, hoping to obtain help from the Lutheran portion of the population there. But a Catholic burgermeister

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹⁵ Reinbeck, pp. 45-48 (75 ff.). Cf. Mayr, LXIX, 50. Details on the Gastein migration in Schwarz-Oberhummer, pp. 64-65.

and a cautious town council refused to admit the exiles and made them settle instead in difficult accommodations in the suburbs. Many went on through Donauwörth to Harburg and Nördlingen, others still farther into Württemberg communities. Small groups were permitted to find their way to Bohemia, Moravia, Silesia, and Hungary. Another separate group did reach Kempten over the passes from Tyrol. Some later groups were much more cordially received in Augsburg. By the end of March, five thousand people had already left.¹⁶

Almost all of these refugees were headed vaguely toward Prussia. More kept straggling out: Toward the end of 1732, 788 Dürnbergers departed their homes, and in March of 1733, 900 left Berchtesgaden.¹⁷ Others came from the Gastein Valley and other localities. During this time the king of Prussia, Frederick William I, was actively striving to bring a degree of order to the migration.¹⁸ His main service was the invitation to settle on his eastern lands. A Prussian agent was sent to Regensburg to arrange for transport, and diplomatic pressure was exerted to get cooperation of Catholic territories to permit transit. Generally, however, the refugees found it to their interest to take a roundabout route if necessary to pass through more friendly Protestant territories. Some Lutheran cities turned out with veritable triumphal receptions as the parade of refugees arrived en route. Erlangen, Gera, Halle, Leipzig, and other cities provided them not only shelter but many comforts and care for the sick.

The first contingent arrived in Potsdam 29 April 1732 after a month's trip by wagon and on foot from the vicinity of Donauwörth.¹⁹ They were welcomed by the king himself. Over twenty thousand refugees were designated under this Prussian migration, although not more than fourteen thousand actually settled in East Prussia, around Königsberg, their assigned refuge. They were permitted to live together in colonies and to establish whole villages of their own. Most of them traveled from Berlin overland to Stettin and thence, via ship, to Königsberg. Once again, as we have seen superlatively in the case of the Huguenots of the revocation, Prussia benefited from the intolerance of the Roman Catholic neighbors.

Thus the aim of the archbishop was achieved for his territories. Almost all of the Lutherans had been forced out. A minority had professed conversion and were permitted to remain. This raises a difficult question about the ultimate purpose of the archepiscopal action. Was it really to

¹⁶ Mayr, LXIX, 51.

¹⁷ Arnold, II, 31.

¹⁸ Mayr, LXX, 96-97.

¹⁹ Mecenseffy, p. 197 (she misprints 1731 instead of 1732); Arnold, II, 113 ff.; cf. Reinbeck, p. 56 (87).

denude the country of thousands of its best citizens, or was it to accomplish edifying conversions to the true faith? If the latter, the purpose was not notably accomplished, for the Lutherans simply left, even at the necessary cost of all their property and wealth. Few families had been able to convert any of their real estate or to take anything with them. Many families were in actual fact penniless and without food or clothing other than what they wore. A continual tragic struggle took place over the control of children. The efforts to hold them behind were frustrated in some cases by the determination of the parents and in other cases by the intervention of Protestant powers, all of whom protested vigorously the division of families. But there was tragedy enough for any century of human history. For all of these folk Schaitberger's *Exulantenlied* became an anthem of personal witness which they shared with the hundreds of others who were involved in the same dreadful journey. At least most of them fairly soon found a new home, mainly, as we have noted, in Prussia. But some made the great leap of overseas migration to the New World, and John and Charles Wesley met a number of them in Georgia in 1735. The elder Wesley was deeply impressed with them, as he was with the Moravians, who also settled in Oglethorpe's young colony.²⁰ Samuel Urlsperger in Augsburg carried forward the plan whereby several hundred Salzburger were able to cross the ocean. In December 1733 a group of ninety-one men sailed from Rotterdam. They landed 14 March 1734. These were the men who in Georgia built the community of Ebenezer, located first about twenty-five miles west of Savannah, later six miles east. Altogether perhaps 250 refugees thus found a new home across the Atlantic. The rest of this story—how they gradually were assimilated into the general life of the new nation and how the original village disappeared—belongs to the history of America.

2. *The Transmigration.* The story told in the preceding section had to do with Protestants who lived in the territories governed by the prince-archbishop of Salzburg. Archbishop Firmian was the central figure of this action. But thousands of other Protestants, again almost entirely Lutheran, lived in other provinces, especially Carinthia and Upper Austria, both of which also possessed huge areas of mountain scenery providing the privacy under which Protestant heresy might hope to thrive. Efforts to eliminate Protestantism through edicts against books and teaching were made from time to time, but without much effect. An official said in 1717 that about half the population of Upper Carinthia

²⁰ John Wesley, *Journal*, I, 374, 397, 404.

(those portions most closely adjoining Salzburg territory) were Protestant.²¹ The authorities were much concerned about the situation, but they did not wish to take the kind of action that would (as had happened in Salzburg), lead to mass emigration and consequent impoverishment of the land.

Hence an attempt was made to distinguish between harmful and harmless heretics—*Verführer* and *Verführte* (seducers and the seduced, villains and victims). If those who were actively drawing Christians away from the true faith could be isolated, the rest would not infect others and would themselves be subject to influences designed to bring them back. The first group, the active heretics, should be banished to outlying regions of the Empire, where their harm would be minimized. In those days this meant being sent to Hungary. For the rest, all thought of emigration should be discouraged. The population should be retained for the good of the realm. Rather than forbid emigration directly, the Empire should place obstacles in the way so as to render the prospects more distasteful.

In pursuance of these aims a decree was published 12 August 1733 in Carinthia which put into effect the plan of holding as many people as possible but exiling the troublemakers, described as *Susurriones und Concitatores*. Troops were sent in to preserve order and apply the proper pressures. The first movement of this "transmigration" came from Upper Austria, when on 9 July 1734, 263 persons moved out, starting from Linz down the Danube to Klosterneuburg. There a representative from Hermannstadt took over and conducted the group to Transylvania. In September a first group, composed only of men, traveled from Carinthia. The women and grown children were sent later, but little children were kept back for Catholic upbringing in spite of protests from the *Corpus Evangelicorum*.

Among those who migrated from Upper Austria were many of the Lutheran inhabitants of Hallstatt, a village nestled at the base of a great mountain spur of the Dachstein on the shores of Lake Hallstadt.²² This little town today has two churches, one Lutheran and the other Roman Catholic. Protestants have been here ever since the middle of the sixteenth century, and Lutheran teaching spread without much opposition, largely because of the remote location. From any approach the way is difficult and involves the crossing of passes. Early in the seventeenth century a priest sought to combat the Reformed teaching, but without

²¹ Mecenseffy, p. 199.

²² See Jakob Ernst Koch, "Die Geschichte des evangelischen Gemeinde Hallstatt-Obertraun seit der Reformationszeit," *Evangelischer Volkskalender*, 1938, pp. 61-73.

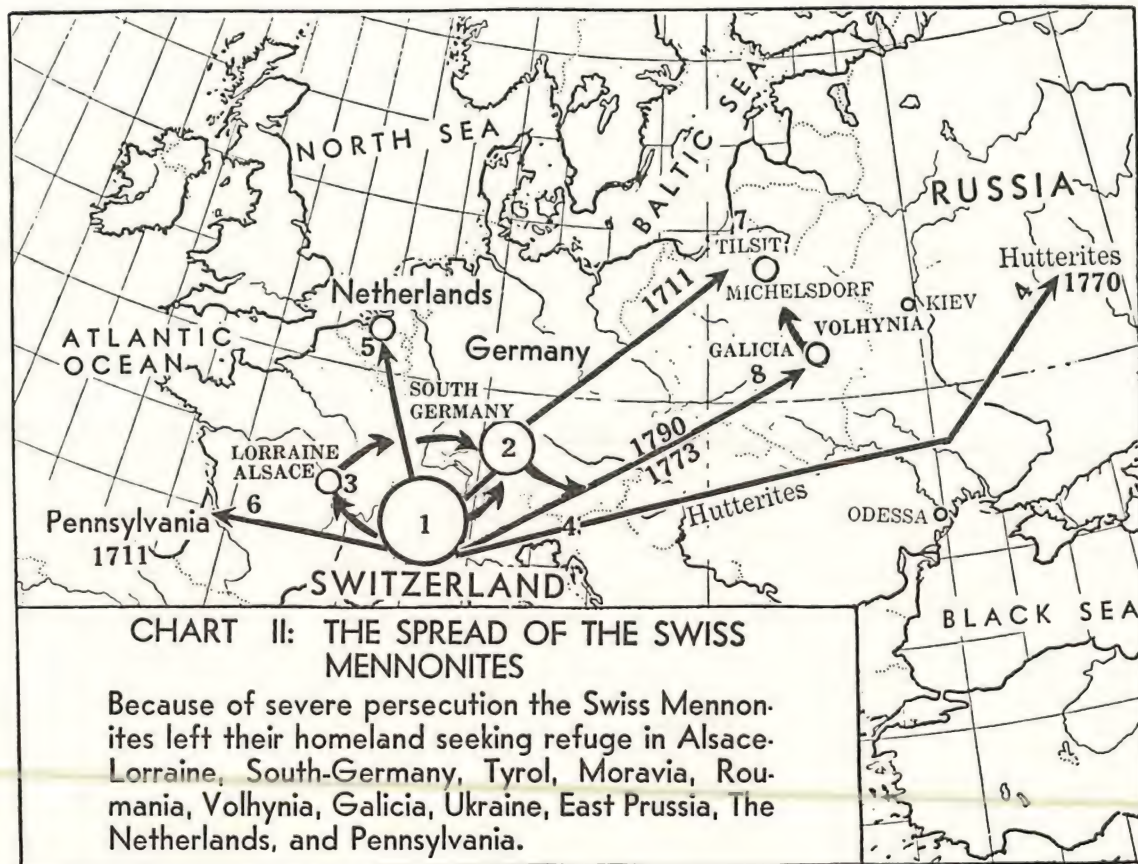
success. In an outlying hamlet—Gosau, far up in the mountains—it was found that no one would attend Catholic services. When authorities tried to force the Lutheran preachers to leave, the population came to open defiance. A thousand sturdy salt miners armed themselves and manned Gschütt and Pötschen passes in 1602. Only the arrival of imperial troops brought submission. Then and not until then was a Catholic priest installed. But the Protestants continued to worship and maintain their position down into the eighteenth century. During the period of the transmigration large number were deported from Hallstatt and sent to Transylvania with other Upper Austrian Lutherans. Nevertheless, Lutheran belief continued, more quietly, until the Edict of Toleration of 1781. It is noteworthy that only four years after the edict the Lutheran congregation of little Hallstatt numbered 583. Thus this community, so narrow on the spit of land between lake and cliff that only one street is possible (plus a footpath at housetop level named Dr. F. Morton Weg), is a specific illustration of the perseverance of Protestantism in the more remote areas of mountainous Austria.

The transmigration lasted until 1736, when war with the Turks broke out again. The people were settled mostly around the German colonies in Transylvania, Hermannstadt and Kronstadt (today Sibiu and Brasov). Altogether more than a thousand persons were thus transported. This operation did not solve the problem of Austrian Protestantism, for relatively few Lutherans were reconverted to Catholicism. It still existed for the pious Maria Theresa to worry about when she became empress. The War of the Austrian Succession interfered with internal improvements during the first years of her reign. But Maria Theresa was living in a new age, in which economic factors, understood in mercantilist terms, loomed far larger than religious ones. Even this pious empress, who yearned that her varied people might be of one true faith, had to take account of the powerful political and economic influences that largely determined Austrian as well as other European policy. Between the war of succession and the Seven Years' War, however, efforts were made to bring religious order, especially in Styria, where a religious commission went to work. Even now the emphasis lay more on missionary work directed to conversion than on persecution which would lead to mass emigration. Missionary establishments were set up in cities like Klagenfurt, Kremsmünster, and Judenburg. Attempts were continued to rescue children from heretical influences and bring them up in the old faith. In 1752 another edict required expulsion of all who would not accept Roman Catholicism. As a result another transmigration took place over the next four years, which totaled 2,664 persons; almost two thousand came from

Upper Austria, seven hundred from Carinthia, and only seventy-one from Styria.²³ Arrangements for the various movements were not well organized, and much suffering followed. Many people died en route. Most of the migrants were resettled around Hermannstadt. In their new settlements difficulties continued, and assimilation with the earlier German settlers did not come easily.

After the Seven Years' War not much could be done in the old ways to compel uniformity of belief. In the reign of Emperor Joseph II, who was deeply under the influence of the Enlightenment (*Aufklärung*), the old zeal for narrow definition of the one true faith was gone. Under his beneficent rule a new age dawned for Austrian Protestantism, signalized by the famous Edict of Toleration, 13 October 1781. At long last the Empire was joining the rest of the enlightened world in the abandonment of force in matters of faith. The old traditions remained strong, but new freedom was like a breath of fresh air.

²³ Mecenseffy, p. 205.



Chapter 24

Mennonites to 1914

*Die erste Generation hatte den Tod, die
zweite die Not, die dritte das Brot.**

Horst Penner, *Mennonitische
Geschichts-Blätter*

*I*n the chapter on the refugees of the Radical Reformation we traced the complicated movements of the Anabaptists through Switzerland, south Germany, Moravia, the lower Rhine, the Netherlands, and the Vistula region. Many of these movements were ephemeral, and some ended with the obliteration of the wanderers. One of the most stable was the settlement in the eastern Baltic region along the lower Vistula River. At the end of the sixteenth century the Mennonites and their relatives were scattered in all of these places.

The following centuries witnessed continued persecution and movement, first on religious grounds and later more and more for economic and military reasons. Even the economic and military factors, however, had religious roots. The principle of separation from the world preserved the agrarian nature of social life and contributed to the pressures of population and land shortage. Universal military service was a direct challenge to the peace witness.

The long story of the farther wanderings of the Mennonites and Amish is told in this chapter so far as Europe before 1914 is concerned. The next chapter is a case study in the migrations of one particular group from their homeland in Holland to West Prussia, south Russia, and

* "The first generation had death, the second dearth, the third bread."

finally midwestern United States. The chapters on refugee movements in America cover the extensive settlements in the Western Hemisphere. The recent mass migrations which resulted from World War II are dealt with in the chapter on refugees for conscience' sake.

A. Migrations from Switzerland

In earlier times the little mountain republic of Switzerland did not demonstrate the democratic and tolerant spirit for which it later became noted. Unlike that other little republic, the Netherlands, Switzerland could not find a place for those nonconforming radicals who rejected the cantonal church system. Decade after decade laws were passed against them, and persecution waxed and waned intermittently. In most cases the bark was worse than the bite for although the Swiss were certainly intolerant they were not inhumane. Thus as the sixteenth century gave place to the seventeenth, Mennonites continued to live in the rural regions of Bern and Zürich. The fundamental statute against Anabaptists, passed in Bern in 1585, was still in effect, but there they still were. By mid-seventeenth century, however, agitation over the scandal of illegal Anabaptists had revived. A law of 1659 required that they be "utterly banished" from the canton. Severe punishment was specified for those who, having left, presumed to return. In the cantons military service was already an important issue. The little country could not afford the luxury of a mercenary force, which did not fit the democratic spirit well, and the authorities were impatient with dissident minorities who refused military service.

The first great crisis came in 1670, when another law was passed forcing hundreds to go into exile.¹ Although the Dutch government intervened in their behalf, many Mennonites had to depart without any of their possessions. The high point of this emigration came in 1671, when approximately seven hundred persons left, most of them from Bern but some too from Zürich. Mennonites were actually searched out in the countryside, brought to Bern, and evicted within two weeks.² Ministers were flogged and branded on the back before being sent over the border. A few recalcitrants were dispatched to the galleys. Most of them traveled the natural route down the Rhine to the Palatinate. Some settled in

¹ The most useful survey is the series by Delbert Gratz in *MQR*, "Bernese Anabaptism in the Seventeenth Century," XXV (1951), 263-82; "Bernese Anabaptism in the Eighteenth Century," XXVI (1952), 5-21, 99-122.

² See *ME*, I, 292.

Alsace, and a few went on to Holland. This migration of 1671 was only the first of several movements out of Switzerland down the Rhine. Eventually some Bernese Mennonites and Amish migrated to America, but not until the early eighteenth century. Some Mennonite refugees from Bern were able to take refuge closer to home in the Jura Mountains, particularly on the French side in territories under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Basel.

The next effort to rid the canton of Anabaptists came early in the eighteenth century. A Mennonite Commission (*Täufer Kammer*) was set up to liquidate them and handle the property they left behind. It remained in operation from 1699 to 1743.³ The first plan actually envisaged deportation to the Dutch East Indies, where they were to be settled on an isolated island. But the Dutch government, which sympathized with the persecuted Swiss Mennonites, refused to be party to this plan. It also thwarted the second plan, which would transport the unwanted sectaries to Carolina via Holland.⁴ At this time a few got as far as Nijmegen, but most of them found their way back to the Palatinate.

The great migration took place in accordance with the third plan, put into effect in 1711, by which the Swiss refugees would be permitted to settle in Holland or go on to Prussia. Early in that year a law was passed which "graciously permitted" them "freedom of withdrawal" from their homeland.⁵ Although the phraseology was meretricious, the regulations were not so rigorous as formerly. In expediting the migration the Dutch ambassador at Bern performed excellent service. In Holland itself a Dutch Relief Commission made arrangements for transport and reception of the refugees. Difficulties on disposition of property and transit permits down the Rhine were overcome. On 13 July 1711 over five hundred persons embarked from Basel on four boats. They arrived in Amsterdam 3 August—80–90 men, 90–100 women, and 340 children.⁶

Most were resettled in Groningen, Deventer, and Kampen. A few went on to Prussia, although the prospect there was not much to the liking of Mennonites. In Holland these strict Swiss Mennonites, mostly of the Amish branch, continued their separate existence until the end of the eighteenth century. Then they merged into the Dutch Mennonite church and were lost in Dutch culture. The Mennonites in Holland continued to enjoy almost unbroken peace throughout modern times. As a result they

³ *Ibid.*, p. 293.

⁴ Gratz, *MQR*, XXVI, 9–10.

⁵ *ME*, I, 99. The main lines of these movements may be followed in C. Henry Smith, *Story of the Mennonites*, pp. 115 ff.

⁶ Gratz, *MQR*, XXVI, 14. Smith, p. 141, says about 340 of them were Amish. There may be some confusion on statistics here.

tended more and more to settle down in conformity with the prevailing culture. They missed the sharpening forces of persecution which kept alive a discipline and spirit among the less fortunate Mennonites of other countries.

Interesting secondary movements took place in the eighteenth century. Some refugees from Bern simply moved over into the territory of Neuchâtel, which although related to the Swiss Confederation was technically under the control of the king of Prussia. Although there was local opposition, the king protected them.⁷ Another refuge was the Jura region under the bishop of Basel. The first sizable movement came in the early eighteenth century, the high point being around 1730. As was frequently the case, local opposition was not slow in finding expression. The motives were resistance to the farming techniques of the newcomers, loyalty to traditional culture, and concern for the security of the territory, which lay in danger between the strong canton of Bern and the power of royal France. Nevertheless, the large landowners tended to favor the refugees because of their efficient use of the land. Opposition came from the class of tenant farmers, who resented intrusion and innovation. From here some made a second move to Montbéliard and southern Alsace (the Sundgau). Toward the end of the century, after considerable wandering, many of these original Bernese Anabaptists found their way to the United States.

B. Upper Rhine and Danube

In south Germany and Alsace the old Anabaptists of the Reformation had been almost wiped out. To the remnants were added in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries new waves from Switzerland. The closest region to the Swiss homeland was Alsace, into the rural areas of which numbers of Swiss Mennonites moved after the end of the Thirty Years' War, especially in 1671. Early in the eighteenth century, however, King Louis XIV ordered his Alsatian intendant to expel them. Many left to resettle in Zweibrücken, the Breisgau, Lorraine, and especially Montbéliard.⁸ Those who survived enjoyed special freedom as a result of the French Revolution, but Napoleon's military enterprises once again caused trouble over military service.

Montbéliard, a dependency of Württemberg from 1397 to 1796, was a unique refuge for Mennonites. Situated east of Basel in eastern France,

⁷ Gratz, *MQR*, XXVI 19-20, 99, 104.

⁸ *ME*, I, 70-72; II, 359 ff.

it offered a refuge for persons driven out of Switzerland and Alsace. Although the Lutheran Reformation had won establishment there, the Mennonites were widely tolerated. Early in the eighteenth century some came, especially in 1712, from Alsace. Almost all of these people belonged to the conservative Amish wing. They favored settlement on lands directly owned by the duke of Württemberg. Although they enjoyed a remarkable degree of freedom, they were not permitted to build churches of their own for public worship. But after 1750 they kept a regular church record, the first among Swiss Anabaptists in Europe.⁹ Many Montbéliardois migrated to the United States in the early nineteenth century.

The most important center for Mennonite settlement from Switzerland was the Palatinate.¹⁰ This region had been terribly devastated by the Thirty Years' War. But in the 1650's Elector Karl Ludwig gave permission for refugees to settle with privileges of worship. One of the first groups was a band from Transylvania which moved in along the Rhine. Communities developed on the left (west) bank earlier than on the right. By 1664 a formal decree permitted wider settlement with more specific privileges. The largest influx came in 1671 from Bern. In November it was reported that two hundred people had arrived; by midwinter there were 215 persons on the west side and 428 on the east.

Then came the devastating War of the Palatinate, in which much of the Rhineland was laid waste by the raging armies of Louis XIV. On top of this a Catholic reaction under a new line of electors brought added difficulties. Through it all the Mennonites endured, although some left. Another sizable immigration came when the Bernese Anabaptists arrived in 1711-12. In the early years of the eighteenth century began the large emigration to America. In this way the original Bernese Anabaptists eventually settled in Pennsylvania, the first center for Mennonite concentration in the New World.

In 1743, however, toleration returned to the Palatinate as the enlightened Catholic Elector Karl Theodor granted privileges not only to Lutherans and Calvinists but also to Jews and Mennonites. A modern note is struck in the official opinion that "no better, more industrious, and competent subjects are to be found, who, with the exception of their religion, their faith, and their error, should serve the members of other faiths as an example in morals as well as in working day and night."¹¹ An extended period of peace and prosperity followed, in the course of

⁹ Gratz, *MQR*, XXVI, 116.

¹⁰ In addition to the survey in Smith, see *ME*, II, 110-12, and Christian Hege, *Die Täufer in der Kurpfalz*.

¹¹ Quoted in *ME*, III, 111.

which the Mennonites of the Palatinate established a wide reputation as the best farmers in Europe. The influence of pietism was also felt, as the new spirit led to lessening of confessional tensions. (In 1699 Gottfried Arnold had published his famous *Unparteiische Kirchen- und Ketzer-historie*, which from a pietist point of view defended the Mennonites.) The government came to look on them not so much as religious sectaries deserving of toleration but as rather useful and prosperous farmers. For the first time they began to build meetinghouses and to develop an ecclesiastical structure. Although for a long time the tradition of lay elders and preachers continued, toward the end of the eighteenth century a shortage of willing volunteers led to the introduction of a trained and called clergy. Many old-timers regretted the spirit of the times which led many busy farmers to refuse election as elder and preacher. The French Revolution completed the process by which religious freedom was gained and traditional discipline was lost. The Mennonite churches of the Palatinate continued strong down to the time of the second world war.

An unusual movement of refugees was that of the transplanted Bernese Mennonites from the Palatinate to Galicia in the 1780's. (Although this migration and its affiliate movements take the story out of German lands, they are best dealt with at this point.) It began with the settlement of several thousand German families, including some Mennonites, in Galicia in the vicinity of Lvov (Lemberg). Since this was part of the Austrian Empire, Emperor Joseph II was in a position to encourage the new settlements. In 1784 three villages were created by the Mennonites, the chief of which was Einsiedeln.¹² They were granted rather generous privileges, including freedom of worship and exemption from military service. Their legal position was that of Lutherans, but they were not required to attend Lutheran services. A few families subsequently migrated to Russia north of Kiev but returned to settle in Volhynia, one of the old western provinces of the Russian Empire. Those who remained in Galicia prospered moderately, increased in numbers, and finally, in 1878-83, joined the great migration to midwest America, where they settled in Kansas and Minnesota.

Related to the Galician migration were those to Volhynia, in the western portion of what is today the Ukrainian S.S.R.¹³ One movement came south from the Vistula area, the other east from the Swiss-Palatine settlements. About the beginning of the nineteenth century settlements were made around Ostrog by Dutch-Prussian Mennonites. Several villages arose in the vicinity of the Russian city, remaining until the great migra-

¹² *Ibid.*, II, 435-36.

¹³ *Ibid.*, IV, 844-46.

tion to the United States in 1874. Other settlements were made in the Goryn (Horyn) River valley and near Luck (Lutsk). All of these places lie between Lvov and Kiev and were thus situated northeast of the Galician settlements. In 1836 some of the people migrated to settle with the Mennonites of south Russia around Molotschna; but in 1848 some of these returned to Volhynia.

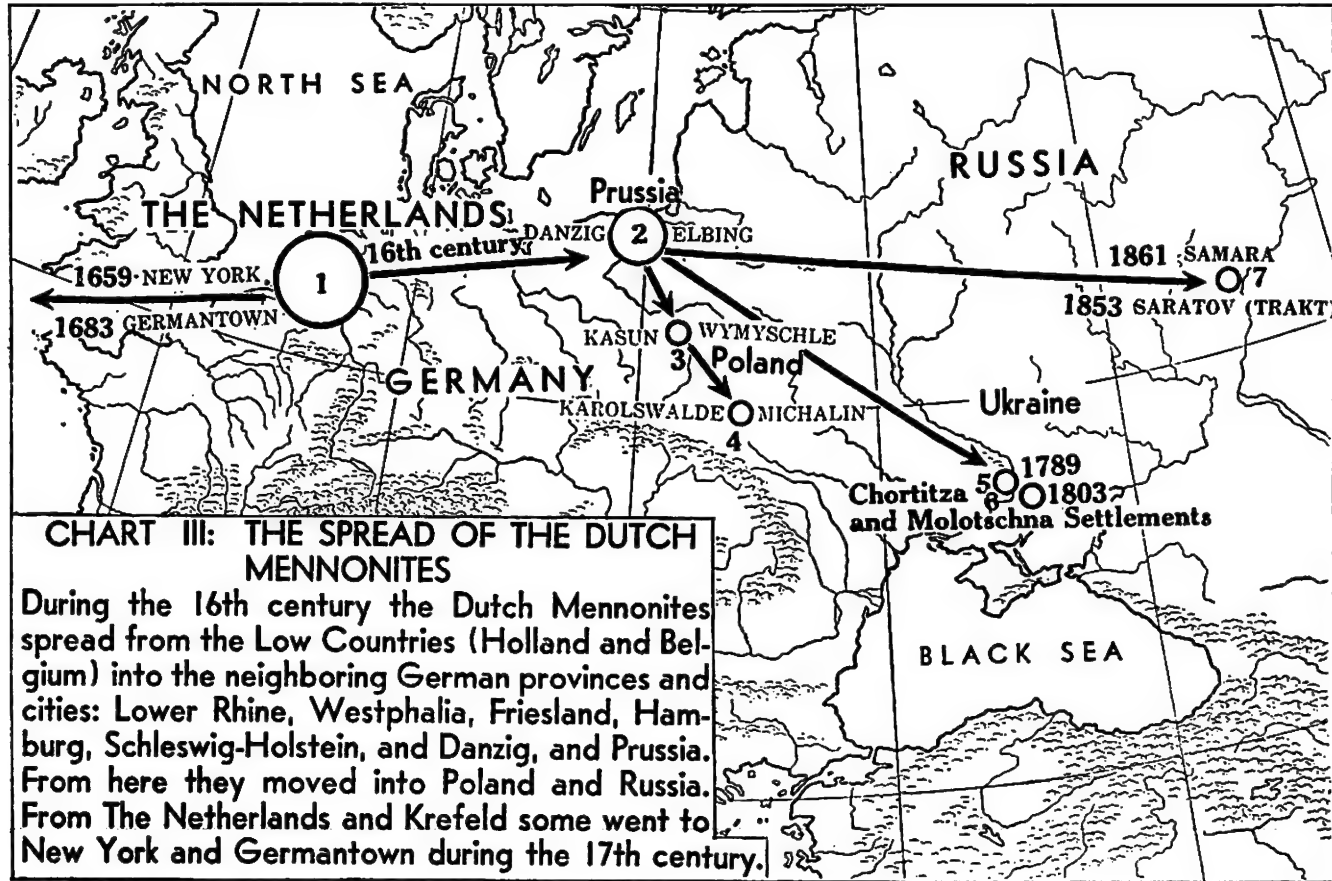
Two groups of Swiss Mennonites also moved into the region. One had come with the Galicians but continued on in 1796 and settled around Dubno. The other came from Montbéliard in 1791, settled for a time in Podolia near Lublin, then about 1807 went on to the vicinity of Dubno, where the leading Swiss Mennonite village developed. Most of these Swiss were Amish. Most of the people from all the groups migrated to America in 1874.

Another movement from the Palatinate took place in the first decade of the nineteenth century, when King Maximilian Joseph IV offered to accept Mennonite families for settlement along the Danube near Neuberg. This movement continued on a small scale during the next few decades. The majority of the migrants went to the United States about mid-century.

C. North Germany and the Baltic

Because the Netherlands continued to be a large island of freedom for Mennonites, the lower Rhine witnessed various movements and settlements. It was fortunate that the small city of Krefeld, conveniently situated not far from the lower Rhine near the Dutch border, came under control of the prince of Orange. In 1601 Mennonites were expelled from Köln and shortly thereafter were driven from Aachen and other German cities. Thus Krefeld was a place of refuge for those who could not settle in Holland or did not wish to leave German land. There were Mennonites in the city early in the seventeenth century, but not until mid-century, when full toleration was granted, did the community grow large. During the whole of the seventeenth century this place, under the aegis of Orange, served the needs of Mennonites of the lower Rhineland. It is interesting to note that the Reformed government tolerated both Mennonites and Roman Catholics.¹⁴ Especially after 1678 large numbers fled from persecution in Jülich. Others came from other regions from time to time. The Mennonites had much to do with the economic

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, I, 734; II, 492.



prosperity of Krefeld, especially in the production of silk. When the land became Prussian in 1702, Frederick William I confirmed their privileges with the words "The Mennonites should not be persecuted, but should be tolerated both for reasons of state and on religious grounds, since they are good Christians living peaceably according to the rules of their faith."¹⁵ Later in the seventeenth century another community arose at Neuwied. The first small migration to America came from Krefeld in 1683.

The story of the West Prussian Mennonites is well illustrated by the migrations of the Alexanderwohl congregation described in the next chapter. Hence only a brief mention is made here of the movement eastward from Holland to the Vistula Valley and thence to Russia. Anabaptists had already settled in these Baltic regions in the sixteenth century. Both West and East Prussia were involved. Mennonites moved from the former to the latter in the early eighteenth century, going to Tilsit in 1713 and to Königsberg (Kaliningrad) in 1716.¹⁶ Some of those in Tilsit were of Swiss origin. The first Mennonite congregation in Königsberg was established in 1722, a development of the growing community skilled, as the authorities put it, in the distilling of whiskey "in the Danzig manner."¹⁷ Apparently this ability was sufficient to overcome the strong opposition of the Lutheran clergy. But in 1732 the Mennonites were ordered to leave the country in order to make room for Salzburg refugees! Probably not all had to go, and many who went returned later. A first meetinghouse was established in 1770. These Königsberg Mennonites survived until the destruction of the city in 1944.

The growing tension over military regulations under Prussian rule in the later eighteenth century led about half of the Vistula Mennonites to decide to accept the invitation of Catherine the Great to settle in some of her new territories in the south of Russia. In 1789 and again in the early years of the nineteenth century, and finally around mid-century, Prussian Mennonites made the long trek through Russian territory to the distant communities along the Dnieper not far north of the Black Sea. One of the most interesting of these migrations was that which established Alexanderwohl in the Molotschna settlement, discussed in the next chapter. First in the old colony, Chortitza, and then in the new colony farther down toward the sea, Molotschna, thousands of Mennonites congregated under most generous provisions of freedom of life and worship. The government, however, carefully isolated the new settlers of

¹⁵ Smith, p. 264.

¹⁶ *ME*, II, 492.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, III, 221, 374.

German language from the Russian and Ukrainian subjects. This isolation became characteristic of the Russian Mennonites and contributed to the preservation of the German language and culture, together with vestiges of Dutch culture, during their entire stay in Russia. Only gradually and only in part did Russian culture influence them.

The half who remained in the Vistula region made the necessary adjustments for living in a military state. Much of the initial exclusive spirit fell away, and much assimilation took place. Early in the nineteenth century the Mennonite population of East Prussia was estimated at 678, while that of West Prussia was 12,497.¹⁸ Of those who went to Russia the distribution was estimated as follows: 400 families in Chortitza, 1,049 in Molotschna, 438 in Samara, and 20 in Vilna.¹⁹

D. Russia

The original movements to Chortitza and Molotschna are discussed later. Only one other original migration from the west took place, in 1853, to Samara along the middle Volga. These three constitute the centers from which all other Mennonite communities in Russia and Siberia expanded. Only a relatively small portion of that expansion represents valid refugee movement, unless the whole story be subsumed under the primary migration from West Prussia, which was clearly a refugee movement.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the colonies centered around Chortitza and Molotschna developed strongly, especially the latter, which was more favored agriculturally. The Russian government dealt with the communal governments through the *Popechiteleyni Komitet o Kolonistakh Iuzhnago Kraia Rossii* (*Fürsorge-Komite für ausländische Kolonisten*, Guardians' Committee for Foreign Colonization in Russia).²⁰ The Mennonites governed themselves through communal organization of their own. Their church order was also their own. In spite of more than one serious schism during the nineteenth century an overall *Allgemeine Bundeskonferenz der Mennonitengemeinden in Russland* was set up in 1883. This General Conference bound together rather loosely the congregations in most of the scattered settlements, which by

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, II, 496.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, III, 685.

²⁰ See E. K. Francis, "The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914," *MQR*, XXV (1951), 176.

this time were quite numerous. It survived the Russian Revolution and held its last meeting in 1926.

During the earlier part of the century Mennonite agriculture emphasized stock raising, particularly sheep. The introduction of the Molotschna cow led to the strong development of dairy farming. But the great change came around mid-century when the Mennonites' Agricultural Association encouraged the planting of wheat, especially the new hard winter wheat. By the time of World War I, Mennonites owned three million acres of good land. A full third of this acreage belonged to 384 Mennonite landholders. Thus had toleration dealt a treacherous blow to the Mennonite ideal.

In addition to the two first mother colonies an original settlement from West Prussia was made in 1853, along the Volga River in Saratov province. The first of two communities was called Trakt, on the east side of the Volga, with several daughter villages nearby. The second was called Alt-Samara, founded in 1861. Among its villages the most important was Alexandertal, the last to be established. Located fifty-six miles from the Volga, it grew by further immigration through the years to occupy a tract of over 26,000 acres.²¹ It was a typical one-street village surrounded by other one-street villages, in the heart of the Mennonite section of the larger area of German settlement east of the Volga. The farms, however, were separate, not communal. The rich black soil, in seasons of adequate rain, produced wonderful crops. This colony survived into the twentieth century and prospered, especially after 1895. It suffered along with all other Mennonite communities in the Russian Revolution. In 1929 the population was forced into exile in Kazakhstan, and the farms were collectivized. It disappeared altogether during World War II.

For a time expansion of the Mennonite population occupied additional land near the original settlements. But by 1890 settlers were migrating far afield, moving east and south like the American western pioneers to occupy new cheap land. This appealed especially to the dissident or stricter groups, who felt stifled by the older settled culture. It was one factor in the establishment of Kuban and Terek in the Caucasus.²² Kuban to the east of the Sea of Azov and Terek to the west of the Caspian became centers for several communities composed of surplus settlers. Kuban especially was a development of the Mennonite Brethren church, one of the dissident groups. Established in 1863-66, it grew

²¹ ME, I, 45. See Bernhard J. Harder, *Alexandertal*, esp. pp. 24 ff.

²² A specialized literature exists on these remote Mennonite colonies. See Adolf Ehrst, *Das Mennonitentum in Russland von seiner Einwanderung bis zur Gegenwart*; C. P. Toews, *Die Tereker Ansiedlung*.

around two villages to a population of about one thousand by the time of World War I. Terek was the "largest, latest, and least successful" of the Mennonite communities.²³ Both regular Mennonites and Mennonite Brethren settled there in 1901, forming seventeen villages on 67,000 acres. It was a vigorous enterprise but faced many complex problems of farming in unfamiliar territory, primitive agricultural traditions, relations with native Tartars and Caucasians, and internal religious conflict. The population had grown to almost five thousand by World War I. Most of the people who remained under the Soviets were evacuated to far Siberia in 1941.

Other colonies sprang up, among them Sagradovka, 1871; Alexanderfeld, 1872; Memrik, 1885; Neu Samara, 1890; and Orenburg, 1898.²⁴ Before World War I extensive settlements had been made in Asiatic Russia.²⁵ Before the Russian Revolution most of this expansion was voluntary, as Mennonites joined other German immigrants and native Russians in an eastward movement comparable to the American westward movement. In both cases frontier conditions prevailed, and wide open spaces beckoned. Four regions were chosen by Mennonite investigators as suitable for agricultural settlement.²⁶ The first ran along the Trans-Siberian Railroad between Petropavlovsk and Omsk in the great valley of the Irtysh River. Southeast up the Irtysh Valley lay the Kulundian Steppes, where Mennonites settled in 1906 in the Pavlodar settlement. A hundred miles east, near a bend of the upper Ob River, was the Barnaul or Slavgorod settlement, which by 1908 had fifty-nine villages on 135,000 acres. Much farther east on a southern spur of the Trans-Siberian was the Minusinsk settlement, founded in 1913 in the Yenisei River valley. It gradually disappeared after the Revolution. Established in 1927 were voluntary settlements in the Far East in the Amur River valley. These settlers were the principal refugees of 1929 in Harbin in Manchuria, discussed in a later chapter.

In addition to such voluntary migrants were the thousands of Mennonites caught in the huge Soviet forced deportations which attended collectivization and later war. Neither movement—voluntary or forced labor—was a true refugee movement. Reference belongs here because they represent the further history of an original refugee movement.

The fate of the Russian Mennonites is illustrated by the experience

²³ *ME*, I, 536.

²⁴ See, for example, Peter P. Dyck, *Orenburg am Ural*; G. Lohrenz, *Sagradovka*.

²⁵ See Franz Bartsch, *Unser Auszug nach Mittel-Asien*; Gerhard Fast, *In den Steppen Sibiriens*.

²⁶ *ME*, IV, 519.

of the inhabitants of Alexanderfeld, near Kherson, founded in 1872. Some of the villagers migrated voluntarily to Siberia in 1909. But in 1930, under the Soviets, the whole community was collectivized. The Mennonite kulaks—landowners—were exiled, an action carried farther in 1937–38. During World War II the Russians evacuated the population. The Germans overtook the party and returned most of them to their villages. But in 1943 they were sent with the Russian retreat to Germany. The Russian army rescued them and sent them back to Russia. A few managed to escape to Canada and Paraguay.

E. The Hutterites

Until the Thirty Years' War the Hutterites managed to find refuge in Moravia, although the ravages of war—Hungarian, Turkish, Catholic, Protestant—disrupted life for everyone. In 1621–22, however, a large number of them were moved by Bethlen Gabor to Transylvania, partly to provide a more secure residence but also to obtain skilled workers. Even the mountain fastnesses of Slovakia did not protect them. In mid-winter, several thousand were driven south into Hungary. Some found refuge with Hutterites already settled there. But a new colony was established in Alwinc (Alwinz), near Hermannstadt, in the southern part of Transylvania (now Romania). New light was recently thrown on this settlement from sources published by Robert Friedmann.²⁷ the authorities granted toleration, but warfare repeatedly devastated the settlements. In 1658 Alwinc was almost totally destroyed.

An unexpected addition came in 1755 when Maria Theresa forced out the Lutherans of Carinthia. These people had been influenced already by pietism. When they were “transmigrated” to Transylvania, they found the life of the Hutterites of Alwinc more to their liking than that of their Lutheran coreligionists. By becoming Hutterites, however, they also became vulnerable to persecution as the Austrian empress sought to purify her realms of religious dissidents. Hence, in 1767 a small group of both old and new residents decided to seek yet another refuge, this time across the Transylvanian Alps in Wallachia, then under Turkish rule. To the Turks all Christians were of the same blind obstinacy, people of the Book who refused to accept Mohammed the Great Prophet. The little party

²⁷ Robert Friedmann, “A Newly Discovered Source on the Transmigration of the Hutterites to Transylvania, 1621–23,” *MQR*, XXXV (1961), 309–14; Maria H. Krisztinkovich, “Some Further Notes on the Hutterites of Transylvania,” *MQR*, XXXVII (1963), 203–13.

got over the high mountains with difficulty and reached the plains of Wallachia only to discover that Russia and Turkey were again at war, and they were in the middle. Within three years they had gone on to Vishenka on the Desna River in Russian territory, province of Tshernigov. From year to year more stragglers arrived until, except for forlorn scattered colonies, the chief center of Hutterites was in the Russian Empire. Later they moved to Radishev, also in the Desna Valley. In 1842 they obtained a larger grant of land to accommodate their increasing population in the Molotschna region where the Mennonites had settled. New villages received names like Hutterthal and Hutterdorf. There they revived the original pattern of *bruderhof* living—communal farming. In the 1870's they migrated with the large group of Mennonites to the United States and settled in the James River valley of Dakota.²⁸

Thus ends the European phase of the story of the Radicals of the Reformation in Europe down to World War I. Most of the settlements described in this chapter were powerfully affected by the various projects for emigration to America. From the little company who sailed from Krefeld in 1683 down to the massive migrations of the 1870's, Mennonites and their fellows took the westward voyage across the Atlantic to the New World. In the eighteenth century the Swiss-German Mennonites laid out those "Pennsylvania Dutch" regions in Penn's Woods and later in Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. In the nineteenth century the Dutch-Prussian-Russian Mennonites established themselves on the Great Plains in Kansas and Nebraska, and in Canada. Only the original Dutch Mennonite society remained stable and permanent, with very little movement to America or anywhere else.

²⁸ The most convenient brief survey of the Hutterites after the Reformation is in Smith, ch. vii, pp. 367 ff.

Chapter 25

The Alexanderwohl Mennonite Migration

One of the largest bona fide land sales ever made in Kansas, perhaps in America has just been conducted by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company with a community of Russian Mennonites who landed in New York during the month of September. . . . From the Cottonwood River to the Little Arkansas, a scope of magnificent prairie country fifty miles in length, is now one colony, composed of the thriftiest and most intelligent class of foreigners that ever landed upon our shores; and "in three years," to use the language of one of their elders, "that ocean of grass will be transformed into an ocean of waving fields of grain, just as we left our Molotschna colony." Kansas will be to America what the country of the Black Sea of Azov is now to Europe.

Commonwealth, Topeka, Kansas, 1874

*L*eaving the main story of the Mennonites at the point of migration to the New World, we turn back to one specific community, which had its origins in sixteenth-century Holland but found a home, after long wandering, in the Great Plains of the United States.¹ One of the centers of the Radical Reformation of the sixteenth century, particularly the so-

¹ This chapter appeared in slightly different form as an address delivered in Vienna, Austria, at the quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences, 29 August-5 September 1965, session on "Migrations" sponsored by the International Commission of Historical Demography. Published in mimeograph by the University of Liège.

called Anabaptist movement, was the Netherlands. Under pressure of persecution, these would-be Christian disciples fled to other parts of Europe, especially to the lower valley of the Vistula River in Poland and what was then West Prussia. The theme of this chapter is their amazing migration over a period of three centuries, with special reference to one group which, through all the dislocations after their first resettlement, maintained a close continuity as a social, cultural, and religious community. An intensive study of them will provide a basis for understanding the larger aspects of a migration which eventually involved hundreds of thousands of individuals.

The Dutch origins of the movement do not permit the identification of a specific, geographically localized unit. The families that later settled together in a village not far from Schwetz in West Prussia, never again to separate, came from various provinces of Holland. Their history is the history of Anabaptism in the Netherlands, which falls naturally into five general periods: (1) origin and spread until the middle of the sixteenth century; (2) violent persecution in the age of the duke of Alva for twenty-five years, 1550-75; (3) a decade of partial relief during the Calvinist ascendancy in the struggle of the Dutch republic; (4) renewed persecution and dogged persistence until 1640; (5) completion and conclusion of the migration through the northern provinces to the eastern Baltic region.²

Frequently outside pressures result in internal dissension. This was the case with the Dutch Mennonites as they struggled for self-preservation against Spanish dons, Roman Catholic bishops, and increasingly rigid Calvinists. At least four dissident groups arose out of tensions between Flemish and Frisian partisans and between conservative and liberal elements.³ Flemish refugees in Holland did not get along well with the native Hollanders, particularly the Frisians. Most strict were the *Oude Friezen*, the "old" or "hard" Frisians. "Looser" were the "young" Frisians, *Jonge Friezen*. There were also two groups of Flemish, the *Oude Vlamingen* (*Groninger*) and the "young" Flemish, generally called simply *Vlamingen*. The Mennonite congregation later called Alexanderwohl derived chiefly from the *Oude Vlamingen*. Considerably more liberal were the *Hoogduiters*, the upper Germans, really Germans of the lower Rhineland. Most liberal were the *Waterlanders*, originally inhabitants of a small region of Holland near Amsterdam. Dirk Philips,

² On the general background see especially N. van der Zijpp, *Geschiedenis der Doopsgezinden in Nederland*, and W. J. Kühler, *Geschiedenis der nederlandsche Doopsgezinden in de zestiende Eeuw*. There are many other specialized studies.

³ See especially Kühler, ch. x, "De Gemeente zonder Vlek of Rimpel."

who had been very close to Menno Simons, the chief founder of the Dutch Mennonites, was an influential figure in the strict group. One of the central issues was the application of the ban, a radical form of ex-communication which involved *Mijding* (*Meidung*) or avoidance—that is, social ostracism. This in turn bore directly on the concept of the church.

A. West Prussia

Persecution of the Mennonites in the Netherlands waxed and waned but provided sufficient impetus over the decades to support a regular flow of refugees to Germany, England, and eastward to the Vistula region. Of course the Münster episode of 1535 led to violent reprisals everywhere. Estimates of martyrs vary wildly from the extreme 100,000 given by Hugo Grotius to the overly cautious 1,500 of W. J. Kühler.⁴ Van der Zijpp estimates at 2,500 deaths the figure for the period 1531–74 in the northern Netherlands. Friesland and East Friesland became places of temporary refuge and transit for the hundreds of refugees who during those years moved eastward.

They were attracted to the Vistula for various reasons. At that time the political climate was permissive, either because the rulers themselves were tolerant or because the divided and sometimes confused system of authority encouraged variety. The city-state of Danzig was never technically part of Prussia, east or west. It more or less ran its own affairs, both in the city itself and in the limited areas of the Vistula delta. The duchy of East Prussia, which had begun as a feudal state of the Teutonic Knights, had become strongly Lutheran under Albert of Brandenburg and enjoyed full autonomy in loose relation to the kingdom of Poland. Dutch refugees, some of them Anabaptist, had settled in Preussisch Holland in the 1520's and 1530's, where they had acquired some seventy-one square kilometers of land. But the Mennonites were expelled in 1543 from the eastern duchy and went then to Danzig and West Prussia. The latter was governed by a variety of princes under the sovereignty of the king of Poland until the first partition of 1772, when the Vistula region went to Prussia.⁵ Feudal decentralization, together with special privileges enjoyed by such localities as Elbing, an old Hanseatic town, made possible

⁴ Cf. Kühler, pp. 269–70, and Zijpp, p. 77. Also *ME*, IV, 921–22, and *passim*.

⁵ See Bruno Schumacher, *Geschichte Ost-und West-Preussens* on general conditions and *Niederländische Ansiedlungen im Herzogtum Preussen zur Zeit Herzog Albrechts (1525–1568)* for Dutch settlement in East Prussia; and Horst Penner, "The Anabaptists and Mennonites of East Prussia," *MQR*, XXII (1948), 212–26.

the settlement of Mennonites in regions predominantly Roman Catholic and Lutheran.

Before the middle of the sixteenth century Anabaptists were settled in the lower Vistula Valley.⁶ A few had found acceptance in Danzig itself, but most were located in the countryside, which meant the broad delta of the great Vistula River. Although far from home, much of the new surroundings was familiar. The low flat marshes, the broad vistas reaching to the horizon, the drainage ditches nearby, even the ubiquitous clinging mud, reminded them of the earth and waterworks of Holland. This delta region served as a sort of funnel, from which, as immigration increased, migrants moved upriver to settle as far as Thorn.

In the fourteenth century some effort had been made under auspices of the Teutonic Knights to improve the land of the delta. Some dikes had been built to control inundation from the sea and flood from the river. But since this enterprise was not so inspiring as the crusade against the barbarians, not much had been accomplished, and most of the older works had already fallen down. When the Dutch first arrived, the prospect was bleak indeed. As Horst Penner put it, three generations were required to bring Dutch order to the wild land: "*Die erste Generation hatte den Tod, die zweite die Not, die dritte das Brot*" ("the first generation had death, the second dearth, the third bread").⁷ Gradually a new Holland appeared along the Baltic. About one hundred square kilometers of land recently flooded by the sea were reclaimed, along with much ancient marsh never before put to the plow. Dikes were repaired and many more built. Sluices were installed, drainage ditches and canals constructed, and windmills erected. It took a hundred years. Houses were placed, just as in East Friesland, on small artificial "islands" raised above the level plain. For this reason the same architectural union of house-barn-stable was maintained. The lower Vistula became an eastern Ems as the panorama of Groningen, Emden, and Norden was transplanted to the region of Danzig and Elbing. *Reienhöfe* shaped like I, L, or X, farm complexes under one roof, became as characteristic of Vistula as of Ems. The great delta regions (*Werder*) between Danzig and Elbing, the Danziger,

⁶ The most important studies are Horst Penner, *Ansiedlung mennonitischer Niederländer im Weichselmündungsgebiet von der Mitte des 16. Jahrhunderts bis zum Beginn der preussischen Zeit*; Felicia Szper, *Niederlandsche Nederzettingen in West-Pruisen gedurende den Poolschen Tijd*; Benjamin H. Unruh, *Die niederländisch-niederdeutschen Hintergründe der mennonitischen Ostwanderungen im 16., 18. und 19. Jahrhundert*.

⁷ "Die westpreussischen Mennoniten im Wandel der Zeiten," *Mennonitische Geschichts-Blätter*, VII (1950), 23 (cf. *MQR*, XXIII (1949), 238). For the reclamation of land see H. Wiebe, *Das Siedlungswerk niederländischen Mennoniten im Weichseltal* (Marburg, 1952).

Grosses, and Kleines, became a thriving center from which Dutch influence spread up the river valley for a hundred miles, past Graudenz, Culm, Schwetz, all the way to Thorn.

During this creative period both Menno Simons and Dirk Philips visited the Mennonites of the region. The latter especially devoted much effort to the nourishment of Christian witness there. Through his influence the strict Flemish party gained much power, sufficient to thwart tendencies toward assimilation. For at least two hundred years the Dutch-Mennonite culture was maintained almost without a flaw. Dutch language was regularly used in home and church. Farming was carried on in traditional ways. Families were continued without break in the Mennonite circle. Names went down from generation to generation—Wiebe, Penner, Jantzen, etc.⁸ At last, however, the cultural integrity began to break down. Dutch was given up as High German became the literary language and Low German the tongue of the marketplace. With the disintegration of the linguistic barrier came a parallel decline of the isolated society. Some intermarriage took place, especially as brides other than first cousins became scarce. Even the Mennonite religious community weakened. When finally challenges to Mennonite piety came under Prussian rule on matters of civil service and military service, the community divided, and only part of the descendants of the original Mennonite settlers undertook to emigrate rather than to submit to the authority of secular society. Frederick the Great was a tolerant man, but he was also a military genius. The Mennonites, who by the eighteenth century had become numerous, constituted a threat to efficient military service. In addition they had created a land problem as a direct consequence of their uncompromising fertility. Behind all were the continuing religious tensions, both with Lutherans of the delta region and with Catholics of the Polish territory.⁹

Among the many Mennonite settlements was a village named Przechowka, or, by the Germans, Wintersdorf. It was located a few miles southwest of Schwetz (Swiecie), which served as a town center for several active Mennonite villages in the region. Dutch settlers, mainly Mennonite, busily reclaimed lowland river areas and became rather prosperous under the favorable conditions of settlement. Przechowka, founded perhaps as early as 1540, was the mother community for several villages of Mennonite farmers. They were granted land on forty- to fifty-year leases,

⁸ See especially Szper, ch. 8, pp. 199 ff. On family names see Unruh, *Hintergründe*, and Gustav Reimer, *Die Familiennamen der westpreussischen Mennoniten* (Weierhof, 1940).

⁹ See Wiebe, pp. 79-91.

some under royal, others under local aristocratic control.¹⁰ Daughter villages looked to Przechowka as cultural and religious leader: Przechowo (Schönau) and Jeziorken (Kleinsee), along with Schönsee on the other side of the Vistula. Some of the land acquired by the Mennonites was good, but some was worthless sand. At the time perhaps three hundred persons occupied the villages.

The significance of this particular community is that it became the source for the group of refugees who in 1821 moved in a body to the Molotschna settlements in south Russia to establish the village that took the name Alexanderwohl. Przechowka was from an early date the religious center of Mennonite life around Schwetz. It is this church that is described in the ancient church book now preserved in the Alexanderwohl community in Kansas in the United States: "*Die Erste Stamm Nahmen Unserer Bisher so genante Oude Vlamingen oder Groningersche Mennonisten Societaet alhier in Preusen.*" A microfilm of the document is filed in the Mennonite Historical Library, Goshen, Indiana. The title of the old record, which goes back to the 1640's, indicates that the membership adhered to the strict party of Old Flemish Mennonites. It show of modern or newfangled fads was taboo—hairdos, ribbons, fine tableware, buckles, fine harness, even buttons. An old quatrain illustrates the contempt for those Mennonites who would compromise with the world:

*Die mit Haken und Oesen
wird Gott erlösen;
Die mit Knöpfen und Taschen
wird der Teufel erhaschen.*¹¹

Those with hooks and eyes
will be saved by God;
Those with pockets and buttons
will be seized by the Devil.

A limited degree of religious toleration enabled them to keep together in a tight Christian society bound by the strong ties of church discipline on strict lines, enforced by the rigorous application of the ban. Inter-marriage even with Mennonites of another party was forbidden. Church

¹⁰ On Przechowka see J. A. Duerksen, "Przechowka and Alexanderwohl," *Mennonite Life*, X (1955), 76-81. A map shows the location of the principal villages. See also ME, "Przechowka," and *Mennonitisches Lexicon*, "Przechowka."

¹¹ Duerksen, p. 76.

taxes had to be paid. For example, in 1732 they were obliged to pay 10,000 gulden to the bishop of Culm. Well into the eighteenth century regular contacts were maintained with the original society in Holland. Elder Alle Derks visited them about 1710, and Elder Hendrick Hulshoff came in 1719 and 1733. Dutch was the language of worship until 1775. The carefully kept baptismal records reveal a tragic proof of the hardness of life: 30 percent of the children died before they were three years old. Only 35 percent reached the age of forty. Two classes of ministers were identified: *Aeltester*, elders who served communion, and *Lehrer* or *Prediger*, teachers or preachers. Most of the common names on this oldest church register can be traced through subsequent history of the same community in Russia and today in Kansas.

Here, then, along the Vistula River halfway between Danzig and Thorn, arose the specific religious community which continued unbroken as a social unit through all the later dislocations and migrations. From various parts of the Netherlands assembled here in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries those families, chiefly Dutch, who built Przechowka and the daughter villages, and who migrated in a body to Russia in the early nineteenth century. Although they finally gave up some of the outward aspects of the old Dutch culture, including the language, they remained steadfast in their loyalty to the strict Old Flemish form of the Dutch Mennonite faith. This, in the visible form of a church community, they transferred bodily in the migration to the Ukraine. Like the children of Israel they took the Ark with them.

B. South Russia

The reasons for Mennonite migration from West Prussia to south Russia were fourfold: (1) problems of land expansion, (2) opposition to military service, (3) peculiar religious views, and (4) invitation and welcome from Russia. The first of these was present rather soon. The original leases had provided for renewable contracts of forty or fifty years for certain tracts measured in "hides." No plan had in foresight the Mennonite propensity for large families and consequent pressure for more land. For the early period ample opportunity was provided in the reclamation of the vast delta. Then expansion pressed up the broad river valley, still occupied with reclamation of low-lying lands not formerly developed. But more land was needed and yet more. Between 1783 and 1787, a period of only four years, the number of Mennonite families went from 2,240 to 2,894, an increase of 654 families, or about 3,-

100 persons. The total Mennonite population then was estimated at about 13,000, not counting those who had been almost completely assimilated into the population of Danzig and Thorn.

Under these conditions of growth, when not much more reclaimable land could be found, the Prussian government in 1789 issued a stringent edict prohibiting the buying or leasing of new land. As early as 1765 some Mennonites had sought relief by migration to other parts of the Prussian kingdom (especially Neumark). The new land laws brought on a crisis of economic pressure. The migration to Russia was therefore in part economically motivated. The Mennonites moved from dear land to cheap land—or rather from unattainable land to free land. In doing so they moved into a region and a culture about as far removed from their original Holland as could be imagined. Dutch Mennonites in the land of the Cossacks? As likely as Cossacks in New York City!

The new stringent military regulations constituted a more direct threat to the Mennonite faith in Christianity as a way of peace. Although Frederick the Great had remained remarkably tolerant of these pacifists in the midst of the world's first modern military state, such a relationship could not long endure. In the same year, 1789, that the land restrictions were established, Frederick William II issued a decree which would have had as its ultimate effect enforced military service on the Mennonites. This particular issue, combined with the general increase of tension between Mennonites and their Lutheran and Catholic neighbors, introduced a powerful religious factor in the determination to emigrate. Almost always pacifist, always a "peculiar people," they once again concluded that the only hope of retaining the most precious part of their heritage lay in flight. Thus the movement was in part exile for conscience' sake.

As the situation in Prussia grew more threatening, the welcome from Russia became more explicit. As early as 1764 the Tsarina Catherine published a manifesto (July 22) which offered help to foreign settlers. They were promised separate colonies freed from provincial interference, local self-government, some tax relief, and religious liberty (except proselytizing among the Russian Orthodox). This was the basis for all subsequent legislation on foreign immigration in the times of Paul and Alexander I. Catherine had good reason to encourage settlement in her domains. Millions of acres lay undeveloped in the lands recently wrested (not completely for some time) from the Crimean Turks. Vast areas, some rich and well watered, some poor and arid, lay north of the Black Sea and around the Caspian. The lower Dnieper was as yet largely

wilderness, a far cry from the highly developed agriculture and industry of the twentieth century. One of the most influential figures was Prince Potemkin, who was very active in arranging various projects for the occupation and developing of the land, especially those parts in which he held a personal interest. He it was who sent one George von Trappe with an invitation to the citizens of Danzig and West Prussia to settle in Russia. This worthy emigration agent appeared in 1786 with a renewed invitation which received wide acceptance among the discontented and hard-pressed residents of the Vistula region. The Mennonites sent two representatives to spy out the land—which apparently they found hard enough, one returning with frozen toes and the other with a broken leg.¹²

It appeared the authorities of Danzig and Prussia were as reluctant to support the plan of migration as the Russians were enthusiastic to promote it. For some time passports were issued only to such as were poor and without property. The more prosperous were retained as a likely source of tax revenue. Later the restrictions were relaxed to permit others to leave on forfeiture of a small portion of their property. Beginning in 1788 and continuing intermittently until well past the middle of the nineteenth century, a stream of refugee-migrants made their way, partly overland in wagons, partly down the Dnieper in barges, to the two chief mother colonies of the Russian Mennonites—Chortitza and Molotschna. During all this time the Mennonite population of the Vistula remained almost stable at around thirteen thousand. It was the surplus that drained off to fill the Ukraine with Mennonite *Reihenhöfe* and churches.

In the autumn of 1788, 228 families gathered at Dubrovna on the Dnieper, where they wintered over. They were all poor and hence without the services of a minister. (Only the wealthier Mennonites could afford to serve as elder without pay, and these could get no passports.) In the spring they went down the Dnieper Valley by road and barge to the valley of the little river Chortitza, in the region where the Dnieper cuts through the Volyno-Azov massif. They had planned to settle farther on in better land but were prevented by the government, which claimed that the continuing Turkish wars made the region unsafe. Perhaps land speculation had something to do with the change. Whether they liked it or not, they were forced to settle down to what proved a most desperate struggle for very survival in wresting life from the hard, scrubby, semi-arid soil. The Chortitza community never prospered like the later richer

¹² So C. Henry Smith, *Story of the Mennonites*, p. 384.

Molotschna settlement. By 1797 about 350 families had moved into the Chortitza area.¹³ One estimate puts the number involved in 1788-89 at 1,333, of whom ninety were Lutheran, the rest Mennonite. Many of these were not farmers at all and were quite unprepared for the rigors of pioneer life. Eight villages were laid out, however, and a beginning was made. Further migrations resulting from the Polish partitions brought about four hundred families altogether to settle in eighteen villages.

The Molotschna settlement was much better planned and more strongly supported. The first years of the nineteenth century saw renewed restrictions imposed in Prussia under Frederick William III, at the same time that Alexander I was expressing interest in encouraging settlement in the still widely undeveloped regions of the south. In spite of interference from the Prussian government the migration began again in 1803. By November, 162 families had left for Russia. Although most of them were poor, they were followed the next year by as many more much more prosperous than they. Altogether, through 1806, 385 families moved to the regions of the Molochnaya River north of the Black Sea, where they founded eighteen villages. The government gave 300,000 acres of fine fertile land for their development. After a lull in the years 1812-18 the migration was renewed with modest movement every year until 1840. By that time the population of the Molotschna colony was over ten thousand distributed in about forty-five villages.

A specific portion of this larger migration was the transportation in a body, without break in social or religious structure, of the Przechowka complex of villages united in one religious congregation. This occurred in 1821 when about thirty families under the leadership of their elder, Peter Wedel II, then only twenty-eight years old, traveled down the Dnieper Valley to the Molotschna region, then already peopled with Mennonites in many villages. On the way occurred the incident which

¹³ David G. Rempel, "The Mennonite Migration to New Russia (1787-1870)," *MQR*, IX (1935), 71-91, 109-28. Chortitza is dealt with on pp. 109-10, Molotschna on pp. 118-22. These articles are a printed form of his unpublished dissertation "The Mennonite Colonies in New Russia," a copy of which is in the Historical Library at Goshen College. The limited sources in Russian deal more with general aspects of colonization than with the Mennonites. Because of my elementary knowledge of Russian I am dependent upon Rempel, Unruh, and others who have made use of these sources. Among them are G. Pisarevsky, *Iz istorii inostrannoi kolonizatsii v Rossii v XVIII v.*, which deals with colonization in the 18th century, and *Pereselenie prusskikh mennonitov v Rossii pri Alexandre I*; S. Bondar, *Sekla Mennonitov v Rossii*; V. Sjurjuhin, *Mennonity Koepentalskogo Rayona Oblasti Nemcev Powolshja v bytovom i chosjastvennom otnoschenii*, on cultural and economic aspects of the Mennonites of the Volga region; J. Krasnoperov, "Mennonitskije kolonii," *Russkaja Mysl'* (1888), no. 10.

according to tradition gave the settlement its name in Russia and thereafter in Kansas—Alexanderwohl. It is indeed possible that the future Tsar Alexander on a tour of inspection encountered these particular migrants not far from Warsaw and expressed the hope that God would bless them on their way. The encounter may have been with a second contingent. Five reasons are given officially in the Danzig records for the applications for passports: suffering from the Napoleonic Wars, bleak prospects in Prussia, limitations in land acquisition, generous offers of land in Russia, and good reports from those already settled. To them must be added the ever-present religious sensitivity which emphasized religious liberty and exemption from military service. Nevertheless, the economic factors must not be neglected.

The original Mennonite settlers would not recognize their Russian home province today. Both Chortitza and Molotschna are in the middle of the tremendous industrial complex dominated by the Dnieper dams, Dnepropetrovsk and Dneprodzerzhinsk, Krivoi Rog and Taganrog. In the time of migration the ten rapids of the Dnieper were still there to interfere with navigation on the historic river. Only recently had the Dnieper Cossacks been subdued and the Crimean Turks driven out. The Treaty of Küchük Kainarja, 1774, opened the way south to the Black Sea. By 1783 the Crimea was annexed to the Russian Empire and the last vestiges of autonomous Ukraine were gone. With the victory over the Turks, Prince Potemkin became viceroy over south—or new—Russia. This vigorous and ambitious promoter encouraged high-quality immigration into the wide-open steppes hitherto only nominally developed. Immense areas of rich chernozem soil—the famous black belt—lay ready for the plow. Here came, first in 1789, the Mennonites and other foreigners. The first settlement at Chortitza was unfortunate but endured and developed in spite of obstacles. The settlers received more scrub woodland and barren sand than grassy steppe. After the first terrible years conditions improved with the arrival of better-prepared colonists in the 1790's.¹⁴

Improvements were also made in the administrative organization which looked after the colonization projects. The hard-pressed Chortitza settlers were granted an additional five years' tax exemption in 1800. Most significant was the reorganization of the Bureau of Guardianship, beginning with a law of 1804 and continuing with the establishment of a *Popechitelnyi Komitet* (*Fürsorge Komite*, Guardians' Committee) in 1818, just before the migration of the Alexanderwohl group. Established

¹⁴ Rempel, pp. 111–14.

first in Kherson under the Ministry of the Interior, the Guardians' Committee continued until 1871, when control was returned to local authorities.

Altogether four original settlements of Mennonites were made under these regulations: Chortitza, Ekaterinoslav province, 1789, with nineteen villages; Molotschna, Taurida province, 1804, with sixty villages (among them Alexanderwohl); Trakt, Samara province, 1853, with ten villages; and Old Samara, Samara province, 1861, with eight villages. During the nineteenth century thirty-seven daughter settlements were made, chiefly as a result of population growth, totaling 290 villages. The actual numbers of Mennonites involved in the migrations were about ten thousand. By the time of the first world war these had multiplied to from 100,000 to 120,000 persons. There were of course other German immigrants who were not Mennonite.

The Molotschna settlement began in 1804 in accordance with a new law of 20 February. Year by year more Mennonites came, mainly from West Prussia, until sixty villages were scattered over the area, inhabited in 1835 by 1,200 families or 6,000 individuals. The villages averaged about one hundred persons each. The area designated for this second large settlement was along the Molochnaya River, which lay between the lower Dnieper and the Azovskoye More (Sea of Azov), west of the later important Donets Basin. Here was land ideal for farming. Except for the *sukhovey*, the hot dry wind from the southeast which dessicated crops, conditions favored intensive farming operations of many kinds. Alexanderwohl lay in the middle of this rich territory, and its inhabitants shared in the prosperity that came with the use of intelligent agricultural skills. Under the plan of settlement the newcomers were relatively free from local administration, since during the entire period oversight was centralized in St. Petersburg. Imperial representatives resided in Odessa and Berdyansk. Local government was largely in the hands of the Mennonite leaders themselves. This turned out to be a mixed blessing, because it presently led to dissension among the peaceful Christians and even to two church schisms. Each village had a representative assembly and a mayor (*Schulz*), whose authority resembled that of a justice of the peace. Each major colony had a district assembly and an *Oberschulz*, with police power and limited judicial oversight.

The story of the contributions of the Mennonites to farming in the Ukraine is well known and justly acclaimed, although it would not be correct to ascribe all of the improvements to them. The name of Johann Cornies (d. 1848) is crucial, in view of his long service with the Men-

nonite Agricultural Association.¹⁵ In the early years the main effort went to sheep raising and the production of dairy cattle. Here Cornies made his fortune and led his people, and many of the Russians as well, into new ways and new enterprises. Sheep raising reached its high point in the late 1830's and was followed by the developing of new breeds of cattle. Especially important was the crossing of the East Frisian cattle which the Mennonites had brought with them with the native Russian cattle. The result was the important German red cow, the *Krasnaya Nemka*. Further, Cornies encouraged planting of fruit trees, manufacture of cheese, brick, and, in the early years, tobacco and silk. Some of the tools used were primitive forms which could be traced back to the Netherlands. Others were of Russian origin. The museums of farming implements of the Alexanderwohl Mennonites of the United States are rich in these traditional and distinctive forms. Cornies introduced potatoes to both Mennonites and Russians.

Following the middle of the nineteenth century came the wheat revolution. After a brief period of raising summer wheat a fine strain of winter wheat was developed, the Russian hard winter wheat, which when introduced into the United States became the well-known Red Turkey wheat. The era of the fabulous Ukrainian breadbasket arrived. And in the midst were the industrious Mennonites. The active Agricultural Association was matched by other social service agencies designed for mutual self-help—hospitals, orphanages, old people's homes, education.

But prosperity brought inevitable tensions and problems. Most important was the perennial Mennonite problem—land.¹⁶ These tensions afflicted Molotschna more than Chortitza because the former prospered more rapidly. After 1860 appeared a large landless proletariat which was frustrated by the restriction of representation in the village and district assemblies to landowners. The leaders of the local communities and of the local churches were mostly well-to-do farmers who did not look with sympathy on the problems of the less fortunate brethren. The Russian government hesitated to interfere until, in 1866, an imperial rescript began control of land occupancy. But no solution was permanent. By the later nineteenth century about 3 percent of the Mennonites owned

¹⁵ See Cornelius Krahn, "Agriculture Among the Mennonites of Russia," *Mennonite Life*, X (1955), 14 ff., and *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, pp. 3-4.

¹⁶ For the Russian aspects see Robert Kreider, "The Anabaptist Conception of the Church in the Russian Mennonite Environment, 1789-1870," *MQR*, XXV (1951), 17-33, esp. 25-31. See also Cornelius Krahn, "Some Social Attitudes of the Mennonites in Russia," *MQR*, IX (1935), 170, and E. K. Francis, "The Mennonite Commonwealth in Russia, 1789-1914," *MQR*, XXV (1951), 173-82.

30 percent of the land and employed 22 percent of the Mennonite population.

Obviously, in a community in which the church was so much a part of the life of the people, the church could not escape the changes in society. Generally the Mennonites would be classified among the so-called sect churches. Such they had been in Holland and Prussia. Now, under the local autonomy afforded in south Russia, the Mennonite church moved toward the church classification proper, with its more pretentious architectural standard, higher degree of organization, settled parish system, and more inclusive and hence less disciplined membership. Local congregational autonomy was weakened by increasing influence of the "leading elements." The land problem, with its distinctions between owners and workers, further disrupted the fellowship. As is true so frequently in tight and isolated groups, when everyone joined the only church available, standards of discipline suffered. What seemed appropriate to the wealthy farmer with a great estate seemed wrong to the poor worker. Efforts on the part of the disenfranchised to seek redress failed. They could not turn effectively to the Russian authorities, for the Mennonite communities were pretty well isolated from the surrounding Russian population, a clear *Volksgruppe*. The dissidents began to call the leaders *Kirchliche*. Two schisms resulted from this situation, a combination of ecclesiastical and economic pressures: the *Kleine Gemeinde*, started by Claas Reimer in 1812, and the *Bruder Gemeinde* of 1860. In both cases the Mennonites sought by various means including force—startling in a Mennonite society—to suppress the dissidents, always without success. These tiny groups survived even the great migrations which began again in 1873.

Seventeen years after the first settlements in Molotschna the little colony of Alexanderwohl was established.¹⁷ Under the leadership of Elder Peter Wedel II the Przechowka church community resettled along the Molochnaya River northwest of Berdyansk in the Taurida province, Volost Halbstadt, in 1821. More settlers came two years later. For some time, of course, conditions were quite primitive, typical of a frontier situation. The chief elder, Wedel, was descended from a long line which

¹⁷ No monographs on this particular colony exist. Some of the general works already referred to have brief notices, that by Rempel being the most important. Duerksen's article deals chiefly with the West Prussian backgrounds. See also F. Isaac, *Die Molotschnaer Mennoniten*. The best works on the Alexanderwohl community as it migrated to the United States are Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, and C. Henry Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*. There is a helpful series of articles in *Mennonite Life*, IV (1949), 16-25, which deal, however, chiefly with the American side.

can be traced back all the way to a Frantz Wedel, who in 1640 received a charter for land in West Prussia. Wedel had been born in Przechowka in 1792 and served as elder from 1813 on. He died in Alexanderwohl, Russia, in 1871. The third Peter Wedel was born there and migrated to Alexanderwohl, Kansas. Another elder of the early years was Heinrich Buller, father of the Jacob Buller who later led the migration to the United States. These elders were elected by simple majority voice vote.

Alexanderwohl was a typical Russian one-street town located along Begemtschukrak Creek, a tributary of the Molochnaya. Houses were built in a row, some on full plots, others on half plots. Provision was made for a school and a church in the middle, and one lot was designated for a store. Common orchards and woodlots lay on either side of the village. The school was the first common building to be constructed, and there the religious community worshiped until the 1860's, when a church was built.¹⁸ It was an impressive frame structure similar to the later church built in Kansas. In 1860 there were twenty-five full farms of 175 acres each and ten half farms, totaling 6,691 acres of tilled land—as compared with the largest Mennonite village, over 9,000 acres, and the smallest, about 2,000 acres. Twenty-six persons were listed as landless. The Alexanderwohl Mennonites shared in the farming enterprises of the whole colony. They also gradually took on some aspects of the surrounding Russian culture. A symbol of this development is the famous Russian Mennonite stove, which caused quite a stir in Kansas. It was a six-level affair built of brick or similar material in the center of the house, with passages running back and forth from the ash box at the bottom, through the firebox, the oven, a smoke passage, a hot-air chamber, and a smoke passage to the chimney (or to a heating drum on the second floor). Judicious burning of straw or grass about three times a day provided heat for cooking and warming the house. Most of the rooms benefited one way or another.¹⁹

Through the nineteenth century this village prospered along with the others. Even after the great migration of 1873–74 several hundred persons still lived there. Such was the fertility rate that the Mennonites in Russia doubled their numbers every twenty years. By 1870 the population had risen to 45,000. About 18,000 migrated to North America in the 1870's, yet by World War I there continued to live in Russia over 100,000 descendants.

¹⁸ The more recent *Mennonite Encyclopedia* gives the year 1865. The *Mennonitisches Lexikon* has 1860.

¹⁹ See J. D. Butler, "The Mennonite Stove," *Mennonite Life*, IV (1949), 16–17.

C. Midwest America

The old story, which began in the Netherlands and was reenacted in West Prussia, was to be repeated once more. The land problem was always present. A new conscription law was applied to the Mennonites in the 1870's. For those who remained faithful to the traditions of their society, life in Russia no longer held much promise. When plans were set for a new migration, Alexanderwohl became one of the active centers. Bernhard Warkentin, the first Russian Mennonite to make the trip across the Atlantic Ocean (in 1872) to investigate the New World, referred in one of his letters to a mass meeting in Alexanderwohl attended by his father, who had written to him urging his assistance in planning a great migration.²⁰ Elder Jacob Buller of Alexanderwohl was one of the official delegates in an inspection tour of America in 1873. The preceding chapter has dealt with the general plans for emigration.

Warkentin was not an official representative but went on his own. His reports to his friend David Goerz, however, contributed much to the decision of the Mennonites to migrate to America. He became business agent for the American Board of Guardians, organized to oversee the American aspects of the project. He had headquarters among the Mennonites in Summerfield, Illinois, from which place he, with Christian Krebiehl, planned one of the Kansas settlements. Other leaders were Jacob Buller, elder of the Alexanderwohl congregation, and Cornelius Jansen, prominent member of the Berdyansk church and an accomplished negotiator with consular experience. He was personally exiled before the mass movement took place.²¹ He is an example of the successful and very able Mennonites who moved out of the simple agricultural economy into the wider world of business and government. There was great need of such men in arranging the complicated procedures for moving thousands of people halfway around the world. Some indication of the difficulties involved may be seen in the records of negotiations with the Canadian and United States authorities, both governmental and business.²² In general the Canadian authorities were more receptive and less

²⁰ Cornelius Krahn, "Some Letters of Bernhard Warkentin Pertaining to the Migration of 1873-75," *MQR*, XXIV (1950), 248-63. See letter of March 1873, p. 259.

²¹ See his biography, *Exiled by the Czar*, by Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert. Cf. Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 51, 60, 65.

²² Many of the official records of the Canadian and United States governments have been printed in *MQR*; see issues of July 1935, October and November 1937, October 1946, January 1947, January 1948. The negotiations with the United States on midwest settlement are in XXIV (1950), 337-49, including consular dispatches from Odessa and the ambassador's report from St. Petersburg. See especially Leland Harder, "The Russian Mennonites and American Democracy under Grant," in Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, pp. 54-67; Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 67 ff.

inclined to discover administrative hindrances. In spite of the fact that the investigators were appalled by the Canadian winters, many groups decided to accept the Canadian offers. Thus originated the settlements in Manitoba near Winnipeg, with which this chapter has little to do.

When the negotiators instituted talks with American officials, they were startled by at least three things. They were amazed that the President of the United States received them directly on a basis of equality. They were amazed to learn that President Grant, like them, had milked cows in his youth. And they were frustrated to learn that even the President was caught in the web of official channels and red tape. When the elder Tobias Unruh and two Hutterite brethren who accompanied him were received by Grant on 8 August 1873, through arrangement by the Northern Pacific Railroad, they made a good impression. Grant grandly commended the matter to his secretary of state, Hamilton Fish, a highly educated and able administrator whose prime qualification was caution. Fish quickly let the President know that thousands of Mennonites from Russia could not simply be dumped on the Great Plains. He pointed out that the law followed the Civil War Conscription Act, which provided for conscientious objectors only in noncombatant service. He made it clear that special privileges could not be granted except by act of Congress. In any case the states would have the final say in any settlements. He did not wish to delude the Mennonites that all their requests could be met. Although Fish had received good reports from the consul in Odessa, he warned the ambassador in St. Petersburg not to engage in any operation that might injure relations with the imperial government. President Grant, however, impatient with such minor obstacles, continued his friendly support, especially after he met Cornelius Jansen, who spoke English and knew his way around in diplomatic circles. Complicated and extended debates in Congress so confused the issues that a bill to provide the special privileges failed to come to a vote. Nevertheless, the representatives of the Russian Mennonites, advised by their American Mennonite friends, decided to come anyway without the special privileges. They were also encouraged by the assurance of Grant—on what basis and with what prescience one wonders—that the United States would not be involved in wars in any way for fifty years at least.²³

The migration of the 1870's resulted in the division of the Russian Mennonites into three major groups: (1) the majority, about two-thirds, who remained in Russia, being more advanced or culturally adapted; (2) the very conservative elements, strong in Chortitza, who migrated to

²³ Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, p. 8.

Canada, about eight thousand; (3) the moderates of Molotschna, the Hutterites and others of Swiss and Polish background, who migrated to the United States, about ten thousand. The Alexanderwohl group was, of course, among the latter.

On the other side of the Atlantic preparations were made to receive and resettle thousands of non-English-speaking foreigners. A Board of Guardians was organized by the American Mennonites with Christian Krehbiel as president, David Goerz as secretary, and John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, as treasurer. It fell to the lot of John Funk to finance the passage of these refugees, many of whom were without funds of their own and all of whom were lost in a totally unfamiliar New World.²⁴ He made two important trips through the Midwest in 1872 and 1873, covering large portions of the Dakotas, Minnesota, Iowa, and Missouri. As publisher of the *Herald of Truth* by virtue of his position as head of the Mennonite Publishing Company of Elkhart, he vigorously promoted the cause of refuge and actively secured funds and made detailed arrangements. For a time Elkhart was a main way station and resting point for thousands. The entire February 1873 issue of Funk's magazine was devoted to the Russian Mennonites and their need to migrate and to the benefits to the country of settlement. Twenty thousand extra copies were sent to Russia. Funk accompanied the Russian delegation on their travels. He was one of those indispensable but unhailed "oilers" who keep the machinery of events in running order.

Thus the way was ready—as ready as it could be—for a mass migration of eighteen thousand persons, uprooted unwillingly and sent across the ocean to find a new home. The big year was 1874, and July was the largest month. Sixty-four hundred people arrived that year, two thousand of them in July. In America the immigrants divided into two main groups. One part settled in Canada, mostly in the section of Manitoba southwest of Winnipeg. The other proceeded by train to the Great Plains of the United States, where they settled in several close communities, principally in Nebraska and Kansas.²⁵ The more conservative ele-

²⁴ See Kempes Schnell, "John F. Funk, 1835-1930, and the Mennonite Migration of 1873-1875," *MQR*, XXIV (1950), 199-229, and "John F. Funk's Land Inspection Trips as Recorded in His Dairies, 1872 and 1873," *MQR*, XXIV (1950), 295-311. Comparable material for the Canadian migration is in Melvin Gingerich, "Jacob Y. Shantz, 1822-1909, Promoter of the Mennonite Settlements in Manitoba," *MQR*, XXIV (1950), 230-47. Useful also is George Leibrandt, "The Emigration of the German Mennonites from Russia to the United States and Canada in 1873-80," *MQR*, VI (1932), 210 ff.; VII (1933), 224 ff.

²⁵ A fascinating account of the process of selecting land in Kansas is in Christian Krehbiel's autobiography (Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, pp. 27 ff.), printed as *Prairie Pioneer*.

ments, originating in the old colony of Chortitza, chose Canada because there they had a clearer and more complete promise of exemption from military service, although informally they could expect freedom on this point in the United States.

The largest single group was the one from Alexanderwohl, again migrating in a body, about seven hundred persons. The overland journey to Hamburg had begun in Alexanderwohl 20 July 1874. On the last day of the month they embarked on two ships, the *Cimbria* and the *Teutonia*. On the first were 303 adults and 172 children with the elder, Jacob Buller. On the other ship were 203 adults and 104 children with Dietrich Gaeddert. Both ships arrived in New York on 15 August. A fire on board the *Teutonia* was brought under control only with difficulty.²⁶

From New York the immigrants traveled by train to Elkhart, Indiana, where they arrived 700 strong, the largest single group to migrate in a unit, in eight passenger coaches at about six in the evening of 31 August. John F. Funk, who had been carrying most of the burden of caring for the refugees, wrote in an unpublished manuscript,

This was one of my hardest trials, seven hundred as a company to be fed and taken care of was an unusual task, but by the help of our heavenly Father we took care of them. They came, and in the evening I took Brother Buller and his companion to my home and entertained them, and a little later the representatives of four different railroad corporations came to see if they could induce this 700 company to settle on their land that each had for sale . . . We decided not to leave them in Elkhart. But in twenty-four hours after they arrived, the same train they came in would leave Elkhart again . . . for the fair grounds at Lincoln, Nebraska.²⁷

After a brief stay in Lincoln, Buller decided the best offer lay in Kansas. The main group was given temporary shelter in Topeka, where arrangements were made for the purchase of thirty-four sections located north of Newton, at \$2.50 down per acre and a total of \$5.00 per acre. A smaller group led by Dietrich Gaeddert settled a little farther west near Buhler and founded the Hoffnungsau Mennonite Church.

On the flat plain north of Newton the grass waved in the wind like an endless sea. Here were no floods and marshes like those of the old days in Holland and the Vistula Valley. But here was grassy steppe like

²⁶ Heinrich Banman, "Geschichte der Alexanderwohl Mennoniten Gemeinde bei Goessel, Kansas," *Bundesbote-Kalendar*, 1926, pp. 29-34. Further information is in Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, and in the October 1949 issue of *Mennonite Life*. Banman gives 114 children instead of 104; cf. Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 98-100.

²⁷ Schnell, p. 219.

the Ukraine. Under the unbroken sod the farmers of New Alexanderwohl found the rich deep topsoil. If all else was strange, this at least meant home. The newspaper *Commonwealth* of Topeka, Kansas, said in its issue of 15 October 1874,

One of the largest bona fide land sales ever made in Kansas, perhaps in America, has just been concluded by the Atchison, Topeka & Santa Fe Railroad Company with a community of Russian Mennonites who landed in New York during the month of September. . . . Their land purchase amounts in round numbers to about 100,000 acres of railroad land, aside from a number of improved farms, all lying north of the stations of Florence, Peabody, Walton, Newton, Halstead, Burrton, and Hutchinson. Thanks to the untiring energy and the extraordinary liberality of the A.T. & S.F. Railroad Company, this means to Kansas, and particularly to Marion, Harvey, McPherson and Reno counties, an acquisition of about one million and a half capital and a wholesale addition to her producing population of some two thousand souls. From the Cottonwood River to the Little Arkansas, a scope of magnificent prairie country fifty miles in length is now one colony, composed of the thriftiest and most intelligent class of foreigners that ever landed upon our shores; and "in three years," to use the language of one of their elders, "that ocean of grass will be transformed into an ocean of waving fields of grain, just as we left our Molotschna colony." Kansas will be to America what the country of the Black Sea of Azov is now to Europe, her wheat field.²⁸

The article went on to describe the process of purchase and the favorable disposition of the Kansas legislature, which passed an act permitting exemption from military service of those who could give evidence of religious scruples. As the diary of David Ediger of the Alexanderwohl group demonstrates, the task of selecting land was hard and complicated. The Mennonites were not about to settle for just anything. They may have separated from the world, but they knew good soil when they saw it. In the fall of 1874 the region was just beginning to feel the impact of immigration. Wagons rolled in profusion to and from the railroad stations. The railroad was constructing five large temporary structures—the immigrant houses—for shelter over the first winter. The industrious farmers were already busy with fall plowing and with planting winter cover. At the end of his article the reporter, who knew what life could be like on the pioneer plain, slipped a sobering reference into an otherwise euphoric report: "No one thinks of drouth and grasshoppers—everybody is hopeful and energetic, and hope and energy will find their reward." Sufficient unto the day was the evil thereof.

²⁸ Quoted in Krahn, *From the Steppes to the Prairies*, p. 13. Cf. Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 139–43.

By the next year villages were being laid out—small one-street villages, almost identical with those common in the Russian Molotschna community. People were moving out of the immigrant houses into their own plain sod houses, some of them triangular huts without vertical walls except front and back. A few frame structures were going up. The central village already had the name New Alexanderwohl. Other names were redolent of south Russia and even earlier: Gruenfeld, Emmethal, Gnadenenthal, Gnadenfeld, Blumenfeld, Blumenort, Schoenthal. Inside the houses appeared all the various articles brought from Russia, some of them bulky, outmoded, impractical in the new American environment, but cherished as symbols of the old life. Presently the ugly immigrant houses disappeared, schools and churches were built, and the sod houses gave way to sturdy frame. This early settlement included about three hundred people. At last the village plan disintegrated as the farmers scattered to independent holdings after the American fashion. Today only vestiges remain of the original village plat. An interesting comparison may be made between the section plans of 1874 and 1949, as given on two fine maps in *Mennonite Life*.²⁹ These show several changes: The immigrant houses are gone. The few non-Mennonite settlers have moved out (why?). Churches and schools serve the area. Villages have scattered and disappeared. Many more sections are involved through expansion of the original community.

Gradually the settlements took on aspects of the surrounding culture, more so than in Russia, where there was an artificial segregation. A church was first built in 1886 and now has a membership of almost a thousand, the impressive Alexanderwohl Mennonite Church. Something even of the old Dutch architecture survived to reappear on the Kansas plains. German remained the common language down to the first world war, but very little of that was left after World War II. Foot washing was given up a few years ago. Thus the old ways went out, but something of the old remained to make this one of the most distinctive social communities in America: the fine old clocks on the wall where they had always hung, the massive grass furnace-stoves in the center of the old houses, the beautiful storage chests, the fruit trees and flower gardens, and especially the broad fields of glowing wheat. Alexanderwohl had come a long way, from Holland in the sixteenth century to Kansas in the nineteenth. Something of that deep-grained heritage was bound to last for a long, a very long time.

²⁹ IV (1949), 21–23. Compare with these the plan of old Alexanderwohl, pp. 24–25. Cf. Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, p. 145.

Chapter 26

Western Catholics and the East

Flee, dear ones,
Into the dark woods;
Attain, dear ones,
The mountains, the caves;
Plunge, dear ones,
Into the depth of the earth.

Hymn of the priestless Old Ritualists

A. The Russian Orthodox

*W*hile Catholic powers in western Europe were sporadically pursuing Protestant heretics, and sometimes one kind of Protestant was persecuting another kind, various categories of Catholics were also victimized. Roman Catholics in traditionally Catholic France discovered what it felt like to be on the receiving end during the French Revolution. Farther east in the Orthodox world Russian Christianity went through another sort of revolution which brought about the great schism between "Old" and "New" Ritualists, or Believers. Although the turmoil in France eventually dissipated with the fall of Napoleon, the schism in Russia deepened to become a permanent fixture of society and culture. Even the upheaval of the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 did not completely eradicate the Raskolniks, as the dissidents came to be called.

Russia has always had her refugees, both voluntary and involuntary. Throughout the centuries a vast unpeopled and almost unknown hinterland spread endlessly out from Kiev, then Moscow, finally St. Peters-

burg. Muscovy was itself a hinterland until modern times. Gradually the growth of the Muscovite state from the center of the huge expanse of the eastern plains brought more and more land under control of the new tsars, until, by the times of Peter and Catherine, Russia attained direct water outlets on the Baltic and Black seas. Still boundless frontiers stretched north, east, and south. Refugees from Russian political or religious tyranny had no need to flee to foreign lands. Refuge was to be had for the taking. To a much greater extent than in the case of the American westward movement the Russian eastward movement (and northern and southern) was accompanied by the flight (or exile) of various and sundry fugitives from either oppression or justice. Siberia became a proverb.

In the middle of the seventeenth century a vigorous patriarch named Nikon began a series of reforms designed to correct and update the worship of the Russian Orthodox church. A visit by the patriarch of Jerusalem in 1649 was apparently crucial in convincing Nikon that the Russian forms had departed from the standards maintained by the Greek Orthodox church. He proposed to bring Russian worship into conformity with Greek usage. Most of the changes appear at first sight to be insignificant. There was the matter of the spelling of the name of Jesus. The Greeks used three fingers in the blessing, the Russians only two. Greeks had processions around their churches in one direction, the Russians in the other. How many times should "Hallelujah" be shouted? But these changes struck at the very heart of Russian piety because they affected the validity of the form of worship. And for the Russian Christian the liturgy was the heart of faith—not the sacramental authority or the power of the Word. If it was true, as many Russians devoutly believed, that only they had preserved unsullied the purity of devotion through the ancient liturgy, then any tampering with the forms was intolerable. The result of Nikon's program was twofold: Reforms were made, and a schism broke forth. A large group under the leadership of a man of genius, the archpriest Avvakum, refused to accept the changes and held rigidly to the old forms. They became the Old Ritualists—or Old Believers. Thus arose the schism which was a sort of Reformation in reverse in the sense that the reform was here imposed from above by the authority of the church and the opposition came from below from the leaders of the conservative people.

Nikon, supported in this issue by the tsar, carried through the changes, and the dissidents, including Avvakum, were exiled. In the fall of 1653 Avvakum departed with his family and several nonconforming priests for

Tobolsk in hither Siberia on the Irtysh River northwest of Omsk.¹ Archbishop Simeon of Tobolsk, instead of sending him on to real exile in farther Siberia, kept him in Tobolsk as archpriest of the cathedral. For about ten years he was busy in this service. He shared in the exciting enterprise carried on by Cossack leaders of exploring the still almost unknown regions of Siberia.

In 1664, however, with the fall of Nikon, who had engaged in a power struggle with the tsar, Avvakum returned briefly to Moscow. Unfortunately for the Old Ritualists, the tsar in deciding against Nikon did not decide against his reforms. Again Avvakum went into exile, alone this time with his family, which included six children.² In the potent year 1666, when many of the devout expected the end of the world, he was called back, tried before a church council, formally condemned, and sent into permanent exile far to the north at Pustozersk near the Arctic shore along the Pechora River.³ It was a real exile this time, in the frozen north in a small military and customs post as a condemned heretic. A further action in 1670 brought a sentence that he be confined in a small wooden chamber covered completely with earth, except for a skylight through which bread and water might be passed. This was explained as a measure of mercy, since his companions were sentenced to have their tongues and right hands cut off. Almost miraculously these men survived, only to meet fiery death at the stake in 1682.⁴

Avvakum is one of the most forceful figures in Russian Orthodox history and one of the most brilliant writers in the Russian language. His autobiography, produced in exile in 1673, was a first, being written in the direct spoken style, a forerunner of modern Russian literature. George Fedotov has said of him, "Avvakum was an author of genius, undoubtedly the best writer among the Muscovites; and certainly, in the daring venture of writing his spiritual autobiography, unique in the Old Russia."⁵

Soon after the schism the Old Ritualists broke into two main groups, the *Popovtsy* (priested) and the *Bezpopovtsy* (unpriested). The former were the more moderate and practical-minded and were served by priests who accompanied them in schism. Unfortunately they had no Orthodox

¹ Easily the best study of Avvakum and the schism is Pierre Pascal, *Avvakum et les débuts du raskol*. In English two good general studies are available: Serge Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, and Frederick C. Conybeare, *Russian Dissenters*. See also Peter Hauptmann, *Altrussischer Glaube*.

² Pascal, p. 357; Hauptmann, p. 75; Conybeare, p. 65.

³ Pascal, p. 403; Hauptmann, p. 82; Bolshakoff, p. 55.

⁴ Pascal, pp. 436, 545.

⁵ George P. Fedotov, *Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, p. 134.

bishop among them (after 1656) and thus faced presently a major problem in supplying the priesthood as the older men died. The Bezpopovtsy, on the other hand, with a radical doctrine of the church which asserted that the true church was no longer on earth and hence all priestly and sacramental functions were invalid, formed communities of the faithful to await the consummation of all things. They believed that during the reign of anti-Christ no priestly or sacramental church could exist. The state was part of the sinful world under the domination of anti-Christ. Hence the only life for a Christian was one of separation from society, especially a society in which church and state were bound together. This line of thinking led them to seek refuge in remote forest and mountain areas.

The Popovtsy were more willing to remain in some sort of relation with society, church, and government. Unfortunately the authorities did not bother to make careful distinctions between types of dissidents, and all groups were persecuted from time to time, although as usual the persecution was sporadic and local. Sometimes and in some places it bore heavily. Between 1670 and 1672, for example, the Old Ritualists were scattered over much of European Russia. A relatively convenient refuge lay in the great *taiga*, the forest of the north, which began north of Moscow and lay thick over the vast regions north of the Volga River. Others fled toward the Ural Mountains, still others to the west and southwest, and some toward Cossack country along the Don and even farther. Curiously, Moscow itself was occasionally a vigorous center for the dissenters.⁶ Important centers for Popovtsy activity were Nizhegorod province, along the Volga east of Moscow, on the Don and Kuban rivers of the south, and near Kursk. Farther on were refugees in the region of Astrakhan, along the River Kum, in the Crimea, and on the Terek River between the Black and Caspian seas.⁷ Others were in the Chernigov government (north of Kiev on a tributary of the Dnieper) and in a new settlement, Vetka, across the Polish border.

During the minority of Peter the Great, under regency of Sophia, the shocking revolt of the Streltzi had repercussions which found expression in the strong ukase of 1685. This document forbade without qualification any form of dissent and decreed burning alive for unrepentant heretics. For a long time the Old Ritualists were driven into remote regions, where they led a furtive existence. Nevertheless, they were able to maintain some form of communication.

⁶ Pascal, pp. 447-50.

⁷ Conybeare, pp. 101-2.

In order the more freely to wander from city to city and from village to village, the itinerant preachers and missionaries cleverly assumed all sorts of disguises. Sometimes they made their way in the garb of beggars, with wallet on back. This was supposed to hold the alms of the charitable, but more often it concealed Raskol books and tracts; at other times they assumed the garb of pilgrims; often they travelled as peddlers and colporteurs, with bags on their backs in which equally they hid the literature of their teachers.⁸

When communities were discovered by the authorities, the members either fled to the forests or when cornered, as frequently happened, burned themselves alive in their own houses.

When Sophia drove out the Old Ritualists from their settlements at Starodub in Chernigov government, most of them fled west across the Polish border to found a new community in exile—Vetka—which had a violent history. This was the first Popovtsy settlement outside Russia proper. One of the outstanding leaders to come from Vetka was Theodosius, whose movement had much influence among the Old Ritualists. For long the only Old Ritualist church building was at Vetka.⁹ This settlement was attacked in 1733 by Russian troops and burned, and forty thousand inhabitants were captured. But it was rebuilt, to be finally destroyed by Catherine the Great in 1764. The survivors managed to regroup once more in Saratov and in Moscow itself.

During the eighteenth century whole villages migrated—or fled—to distant regions around Orenburg, Perm, and Tobolsk in Siberia.¹⁰ Other refugees settled in Dobruja (later part of Romania) along the lower Danube River, and in Turkish lands of the Balkans and Asia Minor. Altogether about ten thousand persons were in these places.¹¹

Gradually the laws against them became ineffective, and the Popovtsy were able to live in relative peace. Some responded to pleas to return to Orthodoxy under terms which permitted them to continue use of the old forms—the *Edinovertsy*.¹² But most continued in schism, and their number grew slowly throughout the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. When the reactionary Tsar Nicholas I came to the throne in 1825, however, persecution was renewed. Attempts were made to force all the Popovtsy to become *Edinovertsy*, without success. Again the pressure was sporadic and local, but many were driven farther into Siberia and the arid regions of the southeast. Many were caught in the

⁸ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 88.

⁹ Bolshakoff, p. 59.

¹⁰ Conybeare, p. 104.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 141.

¹² Bolshakoff, p. 61.

military struggle of the Crimean War, and refugees in the disputed areas suffered heavily. Nevertheless, they survived, in and out of Russia. In mid-twentieth century there were an estimated three million of them, counting some fifty thousand in Moscow itself, where they possess a large cathedral.¹³

About twenty thousand unpriested Old Ritualists (Bezpopovtsy) burned themselves to death in the seventeenth century.¹⁴ This is some indication of the radical nature of their belief and commitment, as contrasted to that of the more moderate Popovtsy. As a result of repeated persecution and their own distaste for any form of government or church they fled to the barren, empty north, to Siberia, which always had room for more outcasts, to the shores of Lake Ladoga up near Finland, and to many other places of refuge. Several great monasteries became centers of influence—Solovki in the north, for instance, and Danilovsky on the Vyg River near Olonets (Ladoga region). When they were closed, the members scattered through the forests and mountains. Certain regions harbored more of these isolated groups than others. Among the most important were the Kostroma region northeast of Moscow on the upper Volga; Novgorod and Pskov areas, near Estonia, with bordering regions of Poland and Sweden; Moscow itself, especially from the later eighteenth century on; the Pomor, the Arctic shore, the Olonets vicinity on the east side of Lake Ladoga, and Archangel.¹⁵ But in truth no one knew where they really were, for many of them were ceaseless wanderers who called no place home.

In the small colonies which they did establish the way of life was strongly communal. Much of the traditional Russian agrarian way of social life went into them, plus a powerful sense of community underlined by isolation from the rest of society. Common pasture, cooperative planting and harvesting, common control of land and buildings, but private control of movable property—these characteristics blended the traditional, the monastic, and the special dissenter ingredients. The only connections were the loose associations afforded by the wandering prophets, who were looked on as saintly leaders.

They took a long view of history. Although they differed on the details, the program of one group, the Prayerless, stated that the world has seen four great ages: "Spring," from creation to Moses, the Age of the Forefathers; "Summer," from Moses to Christ, the Age of the Fathers; "Autumn," from Christ to 1666, the Age of the Sons; and "Winter," the

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 66.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

¹⁵ Conybeare, pp. 151-54.

present time from 1666 on, the Age of the Holy Spirit. Wintertime witnesses the rule of anti-Christ, a time when the true church is submerged, the priesthood is ended, the sacraments are of no avail (except a second, spiritual baptism). The time of anti-Christ will end with the Second Coming, which will occur in 1669—no, 1699.¹⁶

Throughout the history of the priestless ones there runs a deep current of sadness and self-denial. One Old Ritualist hymn runs;

There is no salvation down here, none.
Evil alone rules us, evil.
Death alone can save us, death.
There is no God down here, none.
Without end is folly, without end.
Death alone can save us, death.
There is no life down here, none.
Fire alone awaits us, fire.
Death alone can save us, death.

Nevertheless, in the time of trouble another way lies open, that of flight. Suicide was acceptable only to those who avidly expected the imminent coming of the Lord. The rest, following the advice of Avvakum himself, fled to the hills, like the primitive Christians and the ancient fathers:

Flee, dear ones,
Into the dark woods;
Attain, dear ones,
The mountains, the caves;
Plunge, dear ones,
Into the depths of the earth. . . .¹⁷

One typical group, because it made so clear a break from civilization, was called the "Wanderers," the *Stranniki*. They arose in the eighteenth century as a protest over what they regarded as too ready accommodation on the part of other Raskolniki. Their leader, Eufimius (Euthymius), deserted from the army and hid in a forest near Moscow, then in the Yaroslav government to the north. In his *Peroration* he denounced any connection whatsoever with the government. He baptized himself, not a second, but a third time, to attain the highest commitment, as a true Wanderer without a home on earth. One is reminded strongly of the

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 152, 166.

¹⁷ Quoted in Pascal, pp. 555, 556-57.

Cathari of the Middle Ages, who recognized two levels of commitment, that of the believers and that of the *perfecti*, the latter devoted to the full life of the spirit free from worldly entanglements. The Wanderers' spiritual baptism was like the Cathari *consolamentum*. On principle—not merely from necessity—these fully committed Wanderers spent their lives moving from isolated community to community, along silent forest trails, over mountain passes, through the bogs of Siberia and the endless expanses of the steppes. They would not register officially at all, even as tolerated dissenters, or pay taxes, or accept passports. Some of the more moderate Bezpopovtsy would compromise on these issues on the ground of New Testament teaching, but not the Wanderers. Those who remained "in this life" to maintain families and homes nevertheless kept the ideal of a vow to go wandering before death. Eventually this ideal was formalized in the practice of being taken outside to the garden when death approached.

There were even more radical groups—the *Netovtsy*, or "Nothingites," who would not even baptize spiritually; the Prayerless, who refused any form of worship because that meant use of material things like mouths and tongues. Almost all these groups were strongly docetic, eliminating any factor from Christian belief which suggested the slightest materialism. They spiritualized and internalized the church to the point of rejecting it altogether. The Shore Dwellers (of the Arctic regions) prepared a book of *Answers* in 1723 which stated,

All assemblies and services, feasts, communions and sacrifices were established to purify man of his sins in order that God may come in. The soul, which bears God, does not attach itself to the visible churches and sacrifices, to the numerous congregations and human feasts. It does not worship God on this mountain or in Jerusalem. The soul has God within itself, true spirit, interior altar-pure conscience, non-material purifying tears, interior Jerusalem, joy of the spirit. The soul, being spiritual, brings forth spiritual sacrifices.¹⁸

Although some of the extremist sects managed to survive the nineteenth century, the Russian Revolution was for them an unmitigated disaster. Most of them simply disappeared. Their members represent the same sort of radical denial of the world found among some of the ascetic sects of the early church and the spiritualists of the Reformation, like Sebastian Franck. By definition they were automatically refugees in that they fled not merely particular persecution but the whole substance of "the world."

The Old Ritualists in their various divisions were not the only sec-

¹⁸ Bolshakoff, p. 73.

tarian spirits in old Russia. Other movements arose, for the most part indirectly related to the Raskolniki but distinct from them. Two of the most important were the *Khlysty* and the *Skoptsy*.¹⁹

The origins of the *Khlysty* are lost. Karl Grass finds the first clear evidence of them in 1716.²⁰ They were already suffering heavy persecution in the 1730's but spread rather widely, especially in those areas which saw the spread of the Old Ritualists.²¹ Some have thought they had remote connection with the medieval Bogomiles. Their modern beginnings are associated with two leaders, Danila Philippov and Ivan Suslov, from Kostroma province to the northeast of Moscow. They taught what became a key *Khlysty* doctrine, that of continual reincarnation of Christ. By this they meant that the first Jesus was a man "filled" with the Holy Spirit but otherwise a man. Other men can be, and have been, likewise "filled" with the Spirit and thus in effect become "Christs" in their own right. Such men were Danila and Ivan. Among the *Khlysty* manifestation of this Spirit filling has recurred regularly, although not all groups can always identify one of their number as a Christ. They were strongly spiritualist and sometimes pentecostal. Later leaders were Avvakum Kopulov, Tatiana Chernosvistova, and Philip Kopulov.²²

The second half of the eighteenth century was a special time of trial for them as persecutions and tortures scattered them widely. Many went underground. In one way or another the *Khlysty* managed to survive into the twentieth century and through the Russian Revolution, although much changed. Like other ascetic and perfectionist groups they had an inner circle of *perfecti*. Prophets and prophetesses as well as "Christs" provided leadership. Always they dispersed and developed in small groups or separate families, never in large communities.²³

Almost unique to Russian Christianity are the *Skoptsy*, literally the "Castrated."²⁴ Their origin lay in a development from the *Khlysty* led by one Conrad Selivanov in the eighteenth century. Sometime before 1772 he castrated himself and began to urge his followers to do likewise in order to purify the flesh of all temptations. His text was of course Matthew 19:12. The *Skoptsy* believed that all the Old Testament prophets, Jesus himself, and the apostles (all except Judas) were emasculated. The

¹⁹ The standard and exhaustive work on these two groups is Karl K. Grass, *Die russischen Sekten*. Most later works are based on the research of Grass.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, I, 102.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 117-18, 133-40.

²² *Ibid.*, pp. 175, 177, 179. On their teaching see pp. 252-64.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 249.

²⁴ The entire second volume of Grass's work, over 1,000 pages long, is devoted to them.

Skoptsy also recognized two levels of commitment, that of the "angels," who were deprived only of the testicles, and that of the "archangels," who had excised the entire sexual organ. This more radical operation, as also the parallel mutilation of women members, appeared later.²⁵ Apparently the deprivation of the organs of sex did not occur in infancy but was deferred until manhood was attained. In many cases force and terror were employed to maintain the standards of the community.

Within a few years the founder was arrested and exiled to Siberia, but the movement spread. In Siberia, where Conrad remained for twenty years, he began to insist he was really Tsar Peter III, who had been murdered by his wife, the famous Tsarina Catherine II, in 1762. Early in the nineteenth century he was released and returned to St. Petersburg, where he lived quietly.²⁶ In the nineteenth century the Skoptsy were persecuted by Nicholas I, along with all other dissident groups.²⁷ Considering the violence they did to the procreative process, the wonder is that they were able to expand at all. They were subject to intense persecution not only because of their heretical teachings but also because of the scandal they caused by their peculiar tenet on sex and because of the inevitable rumors which spring up to plague an essentially secret movement.

Outside of Russia the Dukhobors are probably more famous than either Khlysty or Skoptsy. Owing to their somewhat lurid history in their refuge in Canada they have received more than their share of publicity. In Russia they were a small and isolated group, only indirectly related to any of the sects discussed above. Scholars profess to discern elements not only of the Khlysty (Christ reincarnations, for example) but also of radical Protestantism (Mennonites in Russia), Freemasonry of the mystical Russian variety, and later Leo Tolstoy. The Dukhobors arose apparently out of nowhere in the Ukraine in the last half of the eighteenth century, especially around Ekaterinaslav (now Dnepropetrovsk). From there they spread to Saratov, Voronezh, Kursk, north to Moscow and beyond, and into Siberia.

The relatively mild Tsar Alexander I, hoping to separate them from Russian society generally and avoid trouble, encouraged them to settle in the south in a region known as "Milky Waters," Taurida province, near the Black Sea north of the Sea of Azov. They gathered from many places under the leadership of Saveli Kapustin and began to develop the peculiar culture, outwardly democratic, inwardly despotic, which

²⁵ For the principles and practices of castration see Grass, II, 706-9 and 714 ff.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 136-37.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 384 f.

marked them thereafter.²⁸ In the Milky Waters community they called themselves simply "Christians," emphasized the gospel of love, and practiced communal living. Salvation was understood to mean becoming Christ, living his life as one's own. The gospel, especially the incarnation, was completely spiritualized.²⁹ Agrarian simplicity and asceticism characterized their culture.

Affairs went fairly peaceably until the time of Nicholas I. Rumors of irregularities led to an extended two-year investigation of the groups by the government. Neighboring Mennonites—those of the Molotschna settlements—who might have been expected to sympathize with some of their beliefs, reported internal oppression and even torture to force conformity to the group's standards. That was enough for Nicholas, who exiled the whole community in the early 1840's to the remote Caucasus, in the far south between the Black and Caspian seas.³⁰ In that wild frontier region the Dukhobors made two main settlements. One was located in the barren "Wet Mountains," where the chief means of livelihood was cattle raising; the other, some two hundred miles southeast, where farming of grains and fruits was possible.

In the later nineteenth century a new leader arose in the person of Peter V. Verigin, a charismatic but controversial figure who split the community into two factions. Although he was exiled to the far north in 1887, he continued to maintain contact through secret messengers and to control his supporters. First from his exile near Archangel, then for a period in farther north Murmansk, and later from Tobolsk in Siberia, he exercised an amazing power by remote control. Under the influence of Tolstoy he established new ascetic practices, including the prohibition of the eating of meat (1894), sexual puritanism, abstinence from tobacco and liquor, pacifism, and strict limitations on schooling and business.³¹ After a particularly galling episode in which his followers in the Caucasus gathered all the guns they could get and destroyed them in a huge bonfire, they were exiled again, being sent northward to the area of Batum. There they were broken up into small groups and scattered widely in Georgia. About four thousand people were involved in this forced migration.

²⁸ An older book, by one who worked many years with the Dukhobors, is Aylmer Maude, *Peculiar People: The Doukhobors*. See also Vladimir Tchertkoff, *Christian Martyrdom in Russia*; Harry B. Hawthorn, ed., *Doukhobors of British Columbia*; the popularized and sometimes sensational J. F. C. Wright, *Slava Bohu*; John P. Zubeck and Patricia Solberg, *Doukhobors at War*; and Simma Holt, *Terror in the Name of God*.

²⁹ See Conybeare, p. 269; Bolshakoff, p. 102.

³⁰ Wright, pp. 18-19; Hawthorn, p. 45; Bolshakoff, p. 97; Conybeare, p. 286.

³¹ Hawthorn, p. 47.

Shortly afterward, at the very end of the nineteenth century, negotiations were undertaken to remove them entirely from Russia. The Russian government was not willing to exempt these recalcitrant pacifists from military service. Since they would not submit, the only solution was emigration. The English Quaker Aylmer Maude was a key figure in these arrangements. Maude knew something about them from his seventeen years of business contacts in Russia. Tolstoy, who at first objected to the project of emigration, believing their destiny lay rather in supplying the leaven to the lump of Russian society, changed his mind sufficiently to assist with major financial contributions.³² So great were the tension and uncertainty that about a thousand persons, fearful lest the government at the last minute refuse permission to leave, poured into Batum, the Georgian Black Sea port, long before plans for their departure had been set. They assumed that the first idea, of going to Cyprus, would be carried through. But the Dukhobor investigators had already decided against hot dry Cyprus and were pursuing plans for settlement in Canada. In 1898 one freighter took a load of emigrants to Cyprus, since there was nowhere else to go. That same year Maude accompanied the commissioners on an extended investigation of Canada. This resulted, after complicated negotiations, in agreement to transport and settle several thousand persons on Canadian Pacific Railroad lands in Saskatchewan. They were offered very favorable political and financial terms. In spite of early difficulties over selection of land (one plan for 276,000 acres in Alberta fell through) the deal was made, and in the last two years of the century some 7,400 persons made the long journey to their new home, where they were to settle, multiply, and cause endless grief to their hosts. That is part of the story of religious refugees in the New World.

Brief mention may be made of other religious groups in Russia of non-Russian origin. Among these were the Russian Baptists, partly Russian, partly Western in background. These "Stundists" (from *Stund*, the hour for religious service) arose in the time of Catherine II in the Ukraine, where several communities of Mennonites were settled. Although contacts between Russians and non-Russians were minimal, some of the radical Protestant belief soaked into Russian culture. The leaders were from time to time exiled to Siberia, but the movement spread in both numbers and area. The efforts of Pobedonostzev, procurator of the Holy Synod in the later nineteenth century, to eradicate the sect failed. The Stundists survived into the twentieth century and, for a time, benefited

³² *Ibid.*, p. 106.

from the Russian Revolution, as the Soviets tended to favor them to the embarrassment of the Russian Orthodox church. But by 1929 they too had come under the severe anti-God pressures of the Stalin era.

Both Roman Catholics and Uniates in Russia, being found rarely in the western portions of the Empire, suffered much persecution. A bitter three-cornered struggle took place in Ruthenia, where Orthodox, Roman Catholics, and Uniates fought for control of the people. In general most of the refugees from this struggle tended to be clergymen, who, like the orthodox and heterodox of the early church, changed places, in and out, regularly as the fortunes of the struggle changed. Russia of course favored the Orthodox, while the Poles supported the Roman Catholics. Jesuits, incidentally, were exiled from Russia in 1815, at the very time of their reconstitution under a new rule.

B. Roman Catholics in the French Revolution

One of the early results of the French Revolution was the collapse of the traditional upper classes which for so long had dominated French society. The first to go was the clergy. Because the church and its higher clerical leaders had been identified with the Old Regime, the clergy fell also with its fall. Those few liberal leaders who had spoken for reform were lost in the rush, and the lower clergy, the humble parish priests who had good reason to sympathize with the commoners in their revolution, were not in a position to escape. Hence inevitably a thoroughgoing reform of the ecclesiastical establishment was due early in the Revolution. It came on 12 July 1790 with the Civil Constitution of the Clergy, which began by reducing the number of dioceses from 134 to 83 and went on from there.

From top to bottom the structure of the church was redesigned with some strong anticlerical overtones. Many offices were simply abolished. Bishops and priests were subject to vote for office instead of appointment. Nonresidency was ended. Finally, a formal oath was required of all clergy to accept the new regime and the Civil Constitution. This placed them in a most embarrassing position—or rather Pope Pius VI placed them in that position because of his formal condemnation of the Constitution in *Caritas*, 13 April 1791.³³ Approximately half the priests took the

³³ The most comprehensive work is Ludovic Sciout, *Histoire de la Constitution Civile du clergé* (1790–1801), esp. I, pp. 182–90. On the general history of the emigration see Ernest Daudet, *Histoire de l'émigration pendant la révolution française*. An older but valuable work on the church is W. Henley Jervis, *Gallican Church and the Revolution*, esp. pp. 107 ff.

oath in spite of the papal denunciation, either from prudential motives or on the basis of the perennial Gallicanism which has pervaded the French church. But only four bishops subscribed, together with three more coadjutors.³⁴ In the Assembly Mirabeau at first tried to mitigate the force of the oath by arguing that refusal to take it merely had the effect of restricting nonjuring clergy from performing certain public functions.³⁵ But inexorably nonjuring came to mean a crime against the state. The situation was rendered much more critical by the formal condemnation by the pope. Violence broke out and increased in furor to a climax in early September 1792, when in Paris alone fourteen hundred people were killed, four hundred of them priests.

All classes and groups were in the ensuing general emigration, which in some cases took on the aspects of a flight. Some of the aristocratic and military leaders established themselves at key locations in the Rhineland—particularly Coblenz—where they established a sort of court in exile awaiting the propitious moment for a return and reversal of their misfortunes. About 130,000 specific persons of all kinds are accounted for by statistical studies.³⁶ In addition there were at least twenty to thirty thousand unnamed refugees who do not enter the lists and records. The total would amount to about one-half of one percent of the population, and compares with the 200,000 who left following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. It must be noted, however, that the great majority of the refugees of the French Revolution were political, not religious refugees, whereas the motivation of the seventeenth-century emigration was strongly religious. Only a small proportion of the émigrés of the French Revolution were clergy, and almost no lay people fled for conscience' sake. Both upper and lower ranks of the clergy departed—and regular as well as secular. But parish priests accounted for by far the largest numbers. Altogether about 24,600 clergy (counting, however, only those strictly named and accounted for) left the country in the French Revolution.³⁷ This was about one-quarter of the total emigration of the three estates (not of the total emigration).

A series of laws concerning emigration was passed which reveals the vacillation characteristic of repressive powers of government when confronted by mass emigration of those who will not submit. Detailed provisions were made concerning the disposition of property left be-

³⁴ Leo F. Ruskowski, *French Émigré Priests in the United States (1791-1815)*, summarizes the response in an introductory section. Jervis, pp. 95-97, 137.

³⁵ Jervis, p. 110.

³⁶ See statistics in Donald Greer, *Incidence of the Emigration during the French Revolution*, p. 20.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

hind. The legal designation of *émigré* was applied to all who departed after 1 July 1789. The culminating repressive laws were those of 6 September 1792 and 25 October 1792, which decreed confiscation of goods and perpetual banishment.³⁸ A comprehensive code (28 March to 5 April 1793) brought together the various pieces.

Thus the year 1792 was the year of greatest movement for the clergy, who now found it impossible to remain normally in France, caught between the civil oath and the papal denunciation. The taking of the oath was formally required in a law of 27 November 1790. A law of 27 May 1792 provided that, if as many as twenty citizens in a given commune so demanded, a nonjuring clergyman would be banished. By the end of August all nonjurors were ordered out of the realm within fifteen days. Nearly thirty thousand persons were affected by this law. Most of them left during the fall and winter of 1792. More were exiled in 1793 as a result of a second oath demanded.

The movement of clerical refugees can be visualized as a series of waves outward from France in ever larger circles. The first circle was inside France itself—some of the clergy who fled never left France at all. Some took passports as if to leave, then went into hiding and carried on furtive ministries. Others, without the formality of passports, simply disappeared. Although many of these unlocated persons were listed as exiles or deportees, they remained behind all the time. One wonders whether some of them hid in the same forests and caves that sheltered Huguenots of the revocation a hundred years before, and Cathari centuries before that. Certainly, just as Reformed pastors went into hiding or slipped back from refuge in nearby Geneva after 1685, so now in the 1790's Catholic priests carried on an underground ministry as the Revolution ran its erratic but rationalistic course.

Most of the nonjuring priests, however, did leave France, as they were required by law. About two thousand went to the Papal States in Italy—somewhat to the embarrassment of the pope. Others were received and supported by various Spanish bishops, in Valencia, Sigüenza, Zamora, Pampelona, and Toledo.³⁹ For a time two hundred French priests were provided for in the archepiscopal palace of Valencia. Other movements were directed to the Austrian Netherlands and to Switzerland. These, taken together, would be the second circle of refugees, those who left France but settled in nearby lands, sometimes just across the border, and who joined the aristocrats in Coblenz and elsewhere along the Rhine.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 30–31.

³⁹ Daudet, I, 7–8; Jarvis, pp. 219–20; Ruskowski, p. 2.

One of the most notable streams of clerical refugees sailed across the Channel to England, where in Elizabethan times priests had visited secretly in the homes of faithful Catholics. The memory of Jesuit spies and popish plots was still strong in the minds of Englishmen; but the knowledge of the terror across the Channel was stronger. Now the exiles from the Revolution and Napoleon found ready welcome. Especially after the punitive laws and massacres of 1792 large numbers came.⁴⁰ Some stopped off in the English Channel island of Jersey, which was even closer home. One of the most remarkable priestly refugees in England, the Abbé Carron, spent some time on Jersey before he came to London. This arrival of "popish emissaries" under conditions which demanded sympathy from otherwise prejudiced Englishmen had a notable effect on attitudes toward Roman Catholicism. Although it would be too much to say that the movement was a chief factor in the changed views that brought Catholic emancipation three decades later, it nevertheless offered tangible evidence that not all Roman Catholics were automatically traitors and spies for conniving Continental powers.

The farthest circle of movement led across the Atlantic to the United States, that fledgling democracy still not sure of its own destiny. Most of the French refugees, including a hundred or so priests, came in the early 1790's, some of them via Germany and England, others direct from Channel ports.⁴¹ One of the most influential foreigners was Jean Louis Lefabvre de Cheverus, who became the well-liked bishop of Boston. One result of the migration was the establishment of a first Roman Catholic seminary in the United States, St. Mary's in Baltimore, by a group of Sulpicians. Four priests were among the colorful group who established the refugee community of Asylum in Pennsylvania.⁴² Farther west a few priests settled among the French immigrants at Gallipolis, Ohio, Vincennes, Indiana, and Prairie du Rocher, Illinois, Mackinac Island and Detroit, New Orleans and Mobile.

Among the refugees at Asylum were some who did not come from France at all but from the then French colony of Santo Domingo. In the year of the outbreak of the Revolution, 1789, about 45,000 white settlers controlled a restive population ten times that size. The match which fired a seething revolt was a law of the French Constituent Assembly, 15 May 1791, granting citizenship to all free mulattoes. It was one thing to pass such a law in France, quite another to enforce it in the West

⁴⁰ Jervis, pp. 220-28.

⁴¹ Francis S. Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800*, pp. 10 ff., tells the story of the American phase.

⁴² Ruskowski, pp. 25, 43 ff.

Indies. Such terror was aroused that for a period the law was nullified. But in 1792 another law went even farther in granting citizenship to mulattoes and Negroes alike. June that year saw the outbreak of violent rioting and burning. Ten thousand people fled under protection of the French fleet, including some priests, who found refuge in various cities of the American eastern seaboard and in Asylum. A smaller number came also from French Guiana when the Civil Constitution of the Clergy was enforced even there.

Thus another movement of Roman Catholic "religious refugees" took place. Like the earlier one from England in Elizabethan times, it was small in numbers and limited largely to members of the clergy, who were the victims of persecution. Lay Catholics were involved, but not as *religious* refugees. Again, except in particular and individual cases, the influence of these movements on the countries of refuge was minimal. Baltimore received a much needed addition to its clerical force. De Cheverus played a notable part in the cultural life of Boston. Some ripples were caused in the Midwest. Otherwise the main effect was in France itself, where political motives strongly colored the religious factors.

Chapter 27

Opening of the New World

There never was a generation that did so perfectly shake off the dust of Babylon . . . as the first generation of Christians that came to this land for the Gospel's sake.

Increase Mather, in 1677

*M*igration opened the New World. Whatever it became afterward, owing to indigenous factors ranging from Indians to mountains, the enlivening impulse has been the movement of people, both *to* and *in* America. Hence the background for the story of religious refugees is the broader migrations which peopled and civilized the shores, forests, valleys, and ultimately the plains, mountains, and deserts of that other half of the globe earth, the New World which was revealed in the course of that amazing expansion of European energy, the Renaissance. Only when people got on the move did things begin to happen.

They moved for all kinds of reasons—economic distress, political pressure, thwarted enterprise, stifled spirit, religious persecution, adventure, escape from prison or prosecution. But come they did, first in little trickles via uncertain facilities of navigation, in small squat square-riggers dependent on favorable winds and vulnerable to every storm, and then in great fleets, in swift clippers, in dirty steamers, and finally in aerial swarms. Thus were all the nations of the New World born. This is their common unavoidable heritage.¹

In terms of numbers the people with whom this chapter is concerned

¹ The literature of migration and immigration is immense. One of the most useful historical studies is Marcus L. Hansen, *Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*.

are unimportant. On the other hand, they represent those all-important *firsts*, which are almost always small in the making of great enterprises. A broad panorama of migration to America reveals four major periods: (1) colonial settlements of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; (2) the "Celtic" migrations of the first part of the nineteenth century, which involved Irish, Scotch, Welsh, Palatines, along with some Belgians and Dutch and Norwegians; (3) the "Germanic" movements of the later nineteenth century, principally English, Scandinavians, Prussians, and Saxons; and (4) the "Mediterranean and Slavic" settlements of Finns, Letts, Lithuanians, Poles, Karelians, Ukrainians, Italians, and Greeks.² In each period a time of concentration occurred, in which large masses arrived in a relatively brief span. In almost every case after the first the new arrivals settled in areas already occupied and partially developed. "No attempt to found a colony of foreigners on the edge of the wilderness ever succeeded."³ In any event, by the year of the Declaration of Independence in the British colonies two and a half million people of European origin were living in the land of the future United States of America. Among them were many whose ancestors had come in the first instance as religious refugees.

A. Refuge of the Saints in New England

By no means all of the early settlers along the shores of New England were religious refugees. Even some of those who so identified themselves had other considerations in mind as they came under "pretext of religion," a phrase which occurs not infrequently in colonial records.⁴ Nevertheless, few great migrations in history have been so thoroughly influenced in their early stages by religious factors as the colonial settlement of New England. At least the Pilgrims are properly to be described as religious refugees, although even they were motivated also by other factors, such as English politics and Dutch language and economics. To some extent the impressively planned and executed settlement of Massachusetts Bay in 1630 was also religiously motivated. The process of selection by which the Puritan strain predominated is itself evidence. It must be granted, however, in deference to economic historians, that more mundane factors played a significant part, in some cases determina-

² *Ibid.*, p. 9.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31, with references to the *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*.

tive, in the settlement of the New World. It may be said further, incidentally, that religious refuge was an element almost totally absent from the Spanish and Portuguese colonial enterprises. The religious factor in those areas, insofar as it was present at all, took the form of missionary expansion.

The background of the Pilgrim migration is well known. In the first decade of the seventeenth century certain small English congregations found it necessary, for survival as a "church," to leave England. One such was the congregation at Gainsborough led by John Smyth, which in 1606-7 moved in a body to Holland. Another was the little Scrooby congregation, among whose members were Richard Clyfton, the pastor; John Robinson, later pastor; William Brewster, the local postmaster and elder of the church; and young William Bradford, who lived in the Brewster household.⁵ In 1607-8 this community followed Gainsborough to Amsterdam, where they found a group of earlier exiles, whose settlement had begun as early as 1593. They chose the Low Countries, "where they heard was freedom of religion for all men," according to Bradford,⁶ describing the perils and difficulties of escape from the vigilant English authorities, who were determined to prevent the exodus of the dissenting members of the state church. Since the ports were closed to them, "they were fain to seek secret means of conveyance," to offer bribes and pay excessive rates of transportation to the operators of illegal shipping enterprises.⁷ At one time they were betrayed. At another the Dutch captain set sail before the women and children had been loaded on board, when a troop approached. Finally, one way or another, the members of the little group managed to assemble in Amsterdam, where they found temporary welcome not only with the Dutch but also with their fellow Englishmen, who had preceded them.⁸ But they did not stay long in the commercial metropolis. Because of strained relations within the English community itself they decided to settle rather in Leiden, an important city of Holland which expressed a willingness to receive them in spite of the adverse pressure brought by the English king. The official letter in which they defended their action over the British protest is worth quoting:

⁵ The prime source for Pilgrim history is the excellent account by William Bradford, who became governor of the Plymouth settlement. The best edition goes under the title *Of Plymouth Plantation, 1620-1647*, edited by Samuel E. Morison. See also Bradford Smith, *Bradford of Plymouth*, and George D. Langdon, Jr., *Pilgrim Colony*.

⁶ Bradford, p. 10.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11. Ch. ii describes the emigration from England.

⁸ On the Dutch aspects see D. Plooij, *Pilgrim Fathers from a Dutch Point of View*, esp. p. 18. See also Langdon, p. 6, on the early settlements in Holland.

Honourable, judicious, cautious, discreet Colleague,

In reply to your Hon. letter of the 23rd inst., received from the Hague, and duly the contents of it noted, we beg to state in answer that his Excellency, Sir Winwood, His Britannic Majesty's Ambassador, was misinformed that we had any understanding with some of the Brownists: it is, however, true that in February last a request was presented by John Robinson, Minister of the Divine Word, along with some of the members of the Christian Reformed Religion, born in England, requesting that, as they intended to come to reside in the city of Leyden, free and full consent might be granted them to do so. Whereupon we declared in appended Resolution, that we did not refuse any honest person free and unrestrained ingress, provided they behaved themselves honestly, and submitted to all the laws and ordinances here and that therefore the coming of the memorialists would be agreeable and welcome, as may be seen from the Request and the accompanying Resolution, a copy of which we herewith send your Excellency, without anything else having been further done by us, and without our having known, or as yet knowing, that the petitioners had been banished from England, or belonged to the sect of the Brownists. Hence we request your Excellency to communicate this and the accompanying copy to the Lord Advocate to the end that we do not incur the displeasure either of the Ambassadors or of His Majesty, and that we may be excused by their Excellencies and consequently by His Majesty. Herewith, etc.⁹

Perhaps the Dutch authorities in Leiden were strengthened to resist royal pressure as a result of the intensive experience they had had in resisting the Spanish king in the struggle for independence. At any rate here the exiles from Scrooby settled for ten years, living in peace with their Dutch neighbors, struggling to find a new way of life in a crowded country amid a people who spoke an unfamiliar tongue and adhered to a culture alien to England. Life was not easy.¹⁰ Work was scarce and such as there was was hard. Young Bradford, for example, was apprenticed in Amsterdam to a French silk weaver, and in Leiden to a fustian maker.¹¹ Leiden was in those days famous for its weaving and printing industries, and for its university. Brewster embarked on a modest printing enterprise during the years of exile there. At least one of his publications, the *Perth Assembly*, an attack on King James I for trying to force episcopacy on Scotland, was an embarrassing factor in the Pilgrims' subsequent attempt to migrate to America.

Because of the foreign atmosphere and problems connected with the education of their children, as well as economic factors, after ten years the English exiles decided to seek a refuge in some English-speaking

⁹ Plooij, pp. 44-45.

¹⁰ Bradford, ch. iii, pp. 16 ff.

¹¹ Smith, p. 81. Fustian was a cloth made of cotton and linen.

land. Some of them had become acquainted with John Smith's *A Map of Virginia and Description of New England*, Hakluyt's *Voyages*, and Raleigh's *Discovery of Guiana*. The promise of wide-open spaces with land aplenty for all appealed to the cramped Englishmen, who shared little plots with equally cramped Dutch. Moreover, these biblically soaked Christians were struck by the parallel between their condition and opportunity and that which faced Abraham, who set his face toward another Promised Land. "Lastly (and which was not least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying so good foundation, or at least to make some way thereto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ through those remote parts of the world."¹² After consideration of various possibilities, including the tropical shore of Guiana in South America, they settled on the northern portions of the lands controlled by the Virginia Company, from which they obtained a charter for settlement.

Only a minority of the English settlement in Leiden actually joined the enterprise to migrate to the New World. Even the pastor, John Robinson, felt a responsibility to remain behind with the majority. The leadership, therefore, devolved on "Elder" Brewster and other laymen. Even more clearly, then, this particular migration, small though it was, is a classic example of the movement of a disciplined Christian community united as a church. Bradford recognized this fact in his history: "We are knit together as a body in a most strict and sacred bond and covenant with the Lord."¹³ Thus it was a rather small group who sailed from Delfthaven on 22 July 1620 in the *Speedwell*, a small ship which had been purchased for the voyage to America.

And the time being come that they must depart, they were accompanied with most of their brethren out of the city, unto a town sundry miles off called Delfthaven, where the ship lay ready to receive them. So they left that goodly and pleasant city which had been their resting place near twelve years; but they knew they were pilgrims, and looked not much on those things, but lift up their eyes to the heavens, their dearest country, and quieted their spirits.¹⁴

In the meantime rather complicated negotiations had been going on between the agents of the Holland congregation and English representatives of the Virginia Company, and a Thomas Weston, a merchant adventurer who offered to assist the travelers in the financial aspects of their plans. Another ship was chartered, the *Mayflower*, somewhat larger than the *Speedwell*. Although arrangements were well advanced, certain

¹² Bradford, p. 25. Ch. iv gives the reasons for leaving Holland.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 33.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 47. The trip from Holland back to England is in ch. vii.

matters still remained undecided as the party gathered in Southampton in preparation for departure. Particularly sticky were the last-minute demands of the promoters that no land in the colony should come under ownership of the settlers until seven years had passed, and that no free days be allowed the settlers for their own private activities.¹⁵ In addition to the financial complications departure was delayed through discovery that the *Speedwell* was so unseaworthy that it had to be abandoned, while a reduced company crowded into the *Mayflower*. The classic account of the voyage in Bradford's book, Chapter ix, is familiar to anyone conversant with the story of New England. The company, now decreased to 102, seemed to Bradford like Gideon's army.¹⁶ Indeed, it was a paltry force with which to begin the peopling of a continent!

The sighting of Cape Cod, considerably north of their intended land-fall, on 9 (19) November 1620 marked the transfer of their many tribulations from water to land.¹⁷

Being thus arrived in a good harbor, and brought safe to land, they fell upon their knees and blessed the God of Heaven who had brought them over the vast and furious ocean, and delivered them from all the perils and miseries thereof, again to set their feet on the firm and stable earth, their proper element.

No born sailors these pilgrims from the Midlands! The deeply moving chapter of Bradford's history ends with appropriate quotations from the Bible—Deuteronomy 26:5, 7; and Psalms 107:5, 8. A couple of days after their arrival some of them made a preliminary landing, but not until well into December was Plymouth harbor identified and a decision made to settle there. By this time winter, with its storms and cold, had settled also. With no time for crops, or even for putting up proper housing, the little group suffered through that first hard winter. The only preparation they could make had already been made on shipboard, with the formal signing of the Mayflower Compact,¹⁸ worth quoting not only for its political implications but also for its emphasis on the divine foundation of the whole enterprise:

In the name of God, Amen.

We whose names are underwritten, the loyal subjects of our dread Sovereign Lord King James, by the Grace of God of Great Britain, France, and Ireland King, Defender of the Faith, etc.

¹⁵ Cf. *ibid.*, ch. viii, pp. 52 ff. See discussions in Smith, pp. 105 ff., and Langdon, p. 10.

¹⁶ Bradford, p. 53.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 61, 63.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 75-76.

Having undertaken, for the Glory of God and advancement of the Christian Faith and Honour of our King and Country, a Voyage to plant the First Colony in the Northern Parts of Virginia, do by these presents solemnly and mutually in the presence of God and one of another, Covenant and Combine ourselves together into a Civil Body Politic, for our better ordering and preservation and furtherance of the ends aforesaid; and by virtue hereof to enact, constitute and frame such just and equal Laws, Ordinances, Acts, Constitutions and Offices, from time to time, as shall be thought most meet and convenient for the general good of the Colony, unto which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness whereof we have hereunder subscribed our names at Cape Cod, the 11th of November, in the year of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King James, of England, France and Ireland the eighteenth, and of Scotland the fifty-fourth. Anno Domini 1620.

John Carver being elected the first governor, they set about surviving the winter, during which about half their number died. The community also weathered its first trial of authority as certain elements challenged the administration of the governor.

In the midst of the troubles appeared one who seemed an emissary of God himself, who in providence looked after the needs of the struggling Pilgrims. From nowhere came that Indian named Squanto, "a special instrument sent of God for their good beyond their expectation."¹⁹ Equipped with a knowledge of English and some understanding of the white man's ways, he was able to offer much needed assistance in the starving time of that first year. With the coming of spring health returned, crops were planted, and the stage was set for the great thanksgiving ceremony in the fall. The rest of the familiar story is a part of American history which goes considerably beyond the purview of this account. The tiny congregation of religious refugees settled down to become a key factor in the rise of a veritable new world, a rise ultimately broad enough to affect the destiny of all the peoples of earth.²⁰

Religious elements played a significant role in the settlement of the rest of New England. Certainly the impressive migration that brought England to Massachusetts Bay was strongly affected by the Puritan convictions of those who led and most of those who participated. Although they would not, "like the separatists, say Farewell Babylon," as they sailed west, nevertheless many of them yearned for a land in which the pure Word of God might freely be proclaimed, in worship and in life. Massachusetts Bay Colony was certainly not a citadel of

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 81.

²⁰ Langdon's *Pilgrim Colony* is especially valuable in tracing the later history of Plymouth.

religious freedom, but it served that purpose for those who were congregated in support of the established order. That was the way they wanted it. That is the way Governor John Winthrop wanted it. That is the way the Reverend John Cotton wanted it. That is the way, presently, Increase and Cotton Mather wanted it. The Puritan colony along the shores of Massachusetts Bay became in effect a New World theocracy after the fashion of Calvin's Geneva. And it was no more tolerant. Toleration does not thrive in a community in which the citizens are convinced that the truth can be known, that the issues are important, and that coercion is effective. Nevertheless, many of the colonial settlements harbored persons who had migrated from England in order that they might find not only a new life but also freedom of worship. Massachusetts Bay is not the only example of a people who sought freedom for themselves but proved unwilling to grant the same freedom to others who disagreed with them. Even Roger Williams, who suffered at the hands of the authorities in Boston and Salem, could understand that.

The party which assembled in 1630 under the authority of a special charter for settlement in New England was far more impressive than the little company which had sailed from old to new Plymouth ten years before. More substantial backing and more prestigious leadership favored the new enterprise. The Reverend John Cotton, vicar of St. Botolph's church in Boston (England) came down to preach a farewell sermon on II Samuel 7:10: "And I will appoint a place for my people Israel, and will plant them, that they may dwell in their own place, and be disturbed no more. . . ." If any of the participants cynically regarded this as pious window dressing for a commercial enterprise, it is not recorded. During the long voyage, which started early in April and did not end until the middle of June, the settlers were further instructed on what manner of community they represented. John Winthrop preached at length on the theme of the bond of Christian love:

Now the onely way to avoyde this shipwracke, and to provide for our posterity, is to followe the counsell of Micah, to doe justly, to love mercy, to walke humbly with our God. For this end, wee must be knitt together in this work as one man. . . . Soe shall wee keepe the unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace. . . . Wee shall finde that the God of Israell is among us, when tenn of us shall be able to resist a thousand of our enemies; when hee shall make us a prayse and glory that men shall say of succeeding plantations, "the lord make it like that of New England." For wee must Consider that wee shall be as a Citty upon a hill. The eies of all people are uppon Us, soe that if wee shall deale falsely with our god in this worke wee have undertaken, and soe cause him to withdrawe his

present help from us, wee shall be made a story and a by-word through the world. . . . Therefore lett us choose life, that wee and our seede may live by obeyeing his voyce and cleaveing to him, for hee is our life and our prosperity.²¹

On 12 June the *Arbela*, with Winthrop aboard, arrived off Marblehead. The process of transplanting New Jerusalem from Old to New England was begun.²² Some ships of the migration fleet had already arrived, and more came in due course. Nothing here of that last-minute crisis which marked the Pilgrim departure. No bleak landing at the onset of winter. Rather this colony was settled in orderly fashion after a decision was made to shift the center from newly founded Salem to Charlestown. Most notable was the fact that, in effect, the whole Company of Adventurers who backed the enterprise, together with the official charter, made the trip with the settlers. Not only the people but also the corporation and the legal document were now separated by thousands of miles from the royal person who had authorized the project. There would be in Massachusetts Bay none of that bickering between settlers and promoters which frustrated many of the other English settlements on the Atlantic shore. From start to finish this was a plan not only to make an economic beachhead in the New World but also to found a commonwealth the like of which the world had not yet seen. It was to be like Geneva, yes—but Geneva in the wilderness, Geneva without Valois, Hapsburg, or Bourbon, without Rome or Wittenberg. In short, it would be Jerusalem *redivivus* once again, not this time in England's green and pleasant land, but on rocky shores of a world yet shrouded in the mystery of endless reaches still lost beyond the western sunset. Instead of nomadic Bedouin, lurking Indians; instead of the desert, trackless forest.

In spite of careful planning the first winter was a hard one, although not so desperate as that at Plymouth. Within a year the new settlement had received hundreds of new settlers and already far outstripped the less pretentious establishment to the south. The accession of William Laud as archbishop of Canterbury in 1633 provided still further motivation for migration of Puritans to New England. By 1643 over sixteen thousand had settled around Massachusetts Bay, more than the people in all the rest of English America together.²³ For these thousands a government was provided which, although not democratic in a modern sense, was nevertheless not feudal either. If a freeman (citizen) was

²¹ Quoted in Samuel E. Morison, *Builders of the Bay Colony*, pp. 73–74.

²² John Winthrop, *Winthrop's Journal*, I, 46–49.

²³ Morison, pp. 82–83.

required to prove he was also a saint, both he and his less blessed neighbors enjoyed a government dedicated to the common good. Until the compromises which began to come with the Halfway Covenant after the middle of the seventeenth century, the commonwealth of Massachusetts was intended to be a holy commonwealth in all respects. Even as early as 1644 the basis of the electorate was broadened.²⁴ This action did not prevent, however, the rise of Notable Families, which assumed the right to participate in a special way in the affairs of New England generation after generation.

The reign of the saints was not always uniform, nor was it always peaceful. Troubles beset both Plymouth and Massachusetts, as well as the various daughter colonies. The Halfway Covenant altered the monopoly of the saints in government in Massachusetts, but not for a long time in Plymouth; in commonwealth affairs, but not in local matters. The principles of I Corinthians 6:2 ("Do you not know that the saints will judge the world?") represent a fine ideal for theocracy but proved not too practical for the rocks and hearts of New England. While it lasted, the theocracy, whether of Plymouth or Boston style, was a marvel to behold. In the 1640's a crisis developed in Plymouth over a petition of one deputy "To allow and maintaine full and free tollerance of religion to all men that would preserue the Civil peace."²⁵ Especially Bradford set himself adamantly against this move, although apparently a majority favored the change. Bradford finally had to prevent a vote by exercise of his authority as governor. Thus, although some compromise might be allowed in mundane affairs, still the spiritual rule of the saints must be maintained.

B. Goats in the Sheepfold

The New Jerusalem was thus well established when, in 1631, there appeared on the scene "a man," as Bradford described him in his history, "godly and zealous, having many precious parts but very unsettled in judgment."²⁶ This was Roger Williams, fresh from England. After he had been in Boston about two months, he was called to serve the church in Salem. But the General Court, apparently well warned as to his peculiar views and personality, thwarted the call. Instead he went to Plymouth, where he remained for two years, affording Bradford ample

²⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 93-94.

²⁵ Langdon, p. 65.

²⁶ Bradford, p. 257.

opportunity to assess his character. In due course he was called a second time to Salem and this time went. At about the same time the Reverend John Cotton arrived in Boston, to undertake a vigorous ministry that would bring him into direct conflict with Williams.

It was the General Court, however, which, piqued that Salem should have called him to serve them while Williams was still under suspicion and investigation, undertook a legal proceeding against him. The allegations were of both a political and a religious nature. At the root was Roger Williams' conviction that full separation from the formal church, the establishment in England, was the only way to true reformation. He urged Massachusetts to pull out completely. If not that, then he would have Salem pull out from Massachusetts. Charters and such things have no validity in matters of faith. The king of England has no authority over or title to Indian lands. The General Court, therefore, has no authority to force, as Perry Miller has it, "conformity to non-separation."²⁷ The trial resulted in his conviction, although exact specification proved quite difficult. The sentence followed:

Whereas Mr. Roger Williams, one of the elders of the church of Salem, hath broached & dyvulged dyvers newe & dangerous opinions, against the authoritie of magistrates, as also writt lettres of defamacion, both of the magistrates & churches here, & that before any conviccion, & yet mainetaineth the same without retraccion, it is therefore ordered, that the said Mr. Williams shall departe out of this jurisdiction within sixe weekes nowe nexte ensueing, which if hee neglect to performe, it shalbe lawfull for the Gouvernor & two of the magistrates to send him to some place out of this jurisdiction, not to returne any more without license from the Court.²⁸

What really disturbed the authorities? It was as much the man as his beliefs. Not only did he urge radical separation upon nonseparatists, but he urged it most vehemently and sought to draw off Salem. No one could be sure what he would come up with next. He was unsettling as well as "unsettled." Perry Miller explains his difficulties:

He refused to admit either his own fallibility or the practical considerations of long-range policy; he went off half-cocked; he turned complex and subtle ideals into slapdash slogans. He was the worst kind of virtuous man, a perfectionist who made dogmas out of purity and demanded that the rest of the world

²⁷ Perry Miller, *Roger Williams*, p. 25.

²⁸ Quoted in Cyclone Covey, *Gentle Radical, A Biography of Roger Williams*, pp. 116-17. Cf. Winthrop, *Journal*, I, 162-63.

conform to him rather than he to it. Roger Williams was exiled as much because he was a nuisance as because he was subversive.²⁹

Being humane as well as dedicated and responsible, the authorities allowed the convict until spring before imposition of the sentence. Characteristically, Williams employed this time apparently in meetings with sympathizers designed to induce settlers to form a new community around Narragansett Bay.³⁰ Regarding this activity as an inexcusable violation of the grace granted, the authorities decided to ship him forthwith to England on a vessel conveniently available. Getting wind of the plan, Williams made his escape. Thus he had to make his way through the wilderness in midwinter after all. It is not quite fair, however, to charge the authorities with inhumanity.

A new life was before him in the Narragansett region, away from the areas controlled by the chartered governments. Here the Indians still lived in relative freedom. Here the wilderness still held sway. In the early spring Williams was settled temporarily with a few friends on the bank of the Seekonk River. Presently he moved on to the mouths of the Moshassuck and Woonasquatucket rivers, where they emptied into Narragansett Bay. He built a cabin for his wife and two babies and saw to the settlement of several families who came from Salem and Saugus. Curiously he remained on friendly terms with Governor Winthrop, who actually attempted the next year to obtain an annulment of the sentence of exile, unsuccessfully. The founder of Rhode Island performed a real service to the entire New England colony during the uncertain days of the Pequot War; he was almost the only responsible English authority who was in a position to deal with the Indians except at the point of a gun. Thus the colonies which had made the great voyage across the ocean to find freedom for the true church found it necessary to drive into exile one of their number whose view of the true church differed somewhat from theirs. No one could tell then, but the future in America lay with Roger Williams, separation, and voluntarism.

A special aspect of migration to the New World involved the Quakers. Although their movement was significant in terms of both numbers and influence, there is a serious question as to its relation to the refugee theme. Followers of George Fox, members of the Society of Friends, were indeed a peculiar people. Among the various manifestations of the Puritan spirit this development was almost unique insofar as the power-

²⁹ Miller, pp. 26-27.

³⁰ In addition to the literature already cited, see Emily Easton, *Roger Williams, Prophet and Pioneer*, for the narrative of Williams' journeys and troubles.

ful motivation of the immediate guidance of the Holy Spirit was understood to be present. The early Quakers who provided the manpower for the colonization of the Jerseys and Pennsylvania were certainly not "Quietists," as their eighteenth-century successors became. They were rather given to direct action in challenging the prerogatives of the establishment. A Quaker was one who would stand straight in the presence of the king himself, his hat clamped firmly on his head, his eyes gleaming with an intensity either forthright or fanatic depending on one's point of view, his mouth ever ready to make witness in the name of the Holy Spirit, the Inner Light.

But the degree to which the Quaker migration may be described as a refugee movement is debatable. On the one hand, there was a definite confusion of religious and economic motives. Henry Cadbury in his notes to the second edition of Braithwaite's *Second Period of Quakerism* has said, "The line is very hard to draw between the economic and religious motives in the American settlements by Friends."³¹ From the very beginning Friends in the Jerseys and Pennsylvania proved to be remarkably canny businessmen. On the other hand, even the religious motives scarcely fit in with a refugee theme. Quakers tended to look down on anyone who fled from persecution and thus missed the opportunity for witness. One John Moone, who apparently accepted migration to America in place of further imprisonment, was roundly criticized for his decision. A friend wrote,

O my ancient Friend . . . why wilt thou go away and leave a clog behind thee to follow thee as a burden? . . . Not that I am against any's going thither, so they go clearly, but only at such a time as this for any to go to shun persecution, believing the blessing of God will not attend any such therein. . . .³²

Here obviously the spirit is not "Flee to the hills," but rather "We must obey God rather than men."

This is not to suggest that the Quakers had it easy in England. In fact they carried a heavy burden of persecution. As Richard Baxter, one of the more moderate Puritans, although himself not free of oppression, described it, the Quakers were foremost in voluntary suffering if by that means they might bear witness.

Here the fanatics called Quakers did greatly relieve the sober people for a time: for they were so resolute, and gloried in their constancy and sufferings,

³¹ William C. Braithwaite, *Second Period of Quakerism*, p. 689.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 411.

that they assembled openly, at the Bull and Mouth near Aldersgate, and were dragged away daily to the Common Gaol, and yet desisted not, but the rest came the next day nevertheless, so that the Gaol at Newgate was filled with them. Abundance of them died in prison, and yet they continued their assemblies still! And the poor deluded souls would sometimes meet only to sit still in silence, when, as they said, the Spirit did not speak, and it was a great question whether this silence was a religious exercise not allowed by the Liturgy, & . . . Yea, many turned Quakers, because the Quakers kept their meetings openly and went to prison for it cheerfully.³³

In the period of the Commonwealth, when coercion was applied not by Anglicans but by Puritans, some 2,100 Quakers were imprisoned.³⁴ Fox put the matter squarely:

There is a summer religion that is up and flourisheth while the sun shineth. . . . But this is not the nature of the sheep of Christ . . . but the sheep will get atop of the highest hill and mountain, and set their backs and tails against the storme and tempests, and bleat for one another; and when the dogs are abroad among the sheep, they will run together . . . and so Christ's sheep beareth fruite in the winter stormes.³⁵

After the Restoration in 1660 greater pressure was exerted by the Anglican and Stuart authorities against all kinds of dissent, and again especially the troublesome Quakers. Many of the Friends were forced to flee from northern England to southern counties, and some of these went on to the colonies. These pressures brought about some change in the attitude of Quakers to the question of resistance to persecution and the ethics of flight.³⁶ Thus it would seem that the Quaker migration was induced by a variety of motives, political, economic, and religious. Among the religious motives the desire for refuge and for missionary witness mingled closely. The Friends were in general less willing to leave home simply to escape persecution. If they went, they went also eager to testify in the new land, even if that meant renewed persecution.

Some embarked on the perilous ocean with a blithe spirit heedless of dangers and difficulties. The log of the *Woodhouse*, a small vessel which carried a company of Quakers across in 1657, reported that the work of navigation was "performed by the Lord like as he did Noah's ark wherein he shut up a few righteous persons and landed them safe even at

³³ *Ibid.*, p. 41.

³⁴ Hugh Barbour, *Quakers in Puritan England*, p. 207.

³⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 210. See also Gerald R. Cragg, *Puritanism in the Period of the Great Persecution*, esp. pp. 67-76, 82-84.

³⁶ See esp. Barbour, ch. 9, pp. 234 ff.

the hill Ararat." The travelers thought it quite unnecessary to set a true course, "we regarding neither latitude nor longitude, but kept to our Line, which was and is our Leader, Guide and Rule."³⁷ Such reckless sailors were not likely to quail before the dignity of the General Court of Massachusetts when presently they were brought before it to answer charges.

Mary Fisher and Ann Austin, who came "not to settle but to preach and warn," were the first of a train of Quaker witnesses who disturbed the rule of the saints. They do not quite qualify as "refugees." Refugees from what? They became refugees of a sort in the punishment which was meted out in many cases—banishment. The only trouble with this form of punishment was that it was too easy for the exiles to turn around and walk back into the commonwealth. Further punishments characteristic of the gruesome century were imposed on repeaters—imprisonment, whipping, cropping of ears, etc. Finally the authorities, in desperation, resorted to the death penalty. William Robinson and Marmaduke Stephenson, imprisoned awaiting execution, wrote of their experience:

John Indicott began to speak unto us as a man out of the dust, whose life is departing from him, so faintly did he utter his words unto us, to this effect, that they had made several Laws and tryed and endeavored by several wayes to keep us from among them, and neither whipping, nor imprisoning, nor cutting off ears, nor banishing upon pain of death would keep us from amongst them, and he said also he or they desired not the death of any of us; yet, notwithstanding, his following words were: "Give ear and hearken now to your Sentence of Death."³⁸

This forthright and courageous form of witness deserves admiration and sympathy. All over New England and elsewhere in the colonies the Friends refused to submit to established forms. On the other hand, one must take note that the Quakers were not quite fair in their assumption of truth on their side. Perhaps if their virtue was courage their sin was pride. They claimed to rely on the guidance of the Lord but denied that others with whom they disagreed might also rely on the Lord. This attitude led the dominant Quakers of Philadelphia into some peculiar situations when they enjoyed, for a season, the dubious privilege of ruling. The disobedient Quakers did not frequently actually interrupt public worship, nor did they engage in actually subversive activities. But the

³⁷ Quoted in Charles F. Holder, *Quakers in Great Britain and America*, pp. 368, 371. This book must be used with caution. Cf. Barbour, p. 217.

³⁸ Quoted in Barbour, p. 217, from a pamphlet entitled *A Call from Death to Life* (London, 1660).

net effect of their disobedience was the disruption of the pattern of order in society. One can also sympathy with the difficult problem of government faced by those in authority, even though one may disapprove of the measures taken for control.

All the settlements in New England encountered problems. Massachusetts Bay took a strong line, followed closely by New Haven; Plymouth was more moderate, but stricter than Hartford.³⁹ New York and other regions faced similar embarrassments. Only in Pennsylvania and the Jerseys did the Quakers encounter government more favorably disposed. The first settlements in West and East Jersey were supported by William Penn, whose greatest service was the founding of Pennsylvania in 1682. In Philadelphia Quakers were early and dominant, followed closely by the Germans in Germantown.⁴⁰ Several thousand Quakers migrated in the latter seventeenth century to Penn's Woods. That they are to be described in a major sense as religious refugees, however, is questionable. Certainly freedom of religion was one of the attractive features of the colony, and the influence of William Penn, himself a Quaker, was of primary significance. But the various factors which led to the settlement of Philadelphia, together with the behavior of the Friends in their "city of brotherly love," leaves open the question of their role as refugees. However that may be, the place of Pennsylvania as a true refuge for many different kinds of persecuted minorities is secure. And among that motley group were many Quakers who had indeed undergone persecution and known suffering for the sake of the gospel. If they thought of themselves as missionaries rather than refugees, that is what made them Quakers.

C. Huguenots in the New World

A great deal of literature exists on the migration of the Huguenots to America. Most of it is typically genealogical, in which the chief motive for research has been identification of family lines, preferably to titled ancestors. Almost nothing exists which treats the movement as what it in fact was—a significant movement of religious refugees. Of course other motives led these French Protestants into laborious projects for settlement across the ocean. They were already well known as the most active and successful element in the economic life of France before the revoca-

³⁹ See discussion in Langdon, pp. 72-73.

⁴⁰ See Edwin B. Bronner, *William Penn's "Holy Experiment."*

tion of the Edict of Nantes. Although recent research has made clear that they were by no means the dominant factor in French economy once claimed, they did possess business acumen and energy to a remarkable degree. This strength made possible the adaptability required for radical readjustments in life and society. It must be remembered also that most of the French Huguenot migrants to America were already refugees. They had fled to Holland or England and subsequently moved on to the New World.

In the sixteenth century small enterprises had been attempted, not successfully.⁴¹ In 1555 Villegagnon, vice-admiral of Brittany under King Henry II, obtained a charter for making a settlement of Huguenots in South America. His two ships anchored in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro with a group of colonists, most of them Huguenots, and a beginning was made. Fort Coligny was founded and ministers were requested and sent. That is as far as the enterprise went. Villegagnon himself turned against the project, and it was abandoned. In the next decade three attempts were made to plant Huguenot settlements in Florida, by Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière. The arrival of the Spanish in force ended that project. It may possibly have been designed to provide a refuge for French Huguenots, but evidence for or against is lacking. Evidence is lacking also to indicate the degree of concern for religion among these early settlers. No minister accompanied the first two voyages.⁴²

Some French—or rather Walloon—Protestants were caught up in the wake of the migration of the Pilgrims from Holland. In 1621 a group was trying to arrange to migrate in a body to Virginia.⁴³ But when the Dutch West India Company offered attractive terms, the plan was changed in favor of a settlement in New Netherland. A ship of that name sailed in 1623 with thirty families, most of them of Walloon background, among the first settlers in the new Dutch colony. It can almost be said that New Netherland was founded by French and Walloon Protestants. Once on the eastern shore, the group divided, some settling on Manhattan, others going on along the Sound, to the region of the Delaware, and up the Hudson to the site of Albany, where a colony called Orange was started. Peter Minuit, the second director, was himself a deacon of a refugee Reformed congregation in Wesel, and Peter Stuy-

⁴¹ On these early attempts, in addition to the general literature, see Jeanine Jacquemin, "La colonisation protestante en Floride et la politique européenne au XVI^e siècle," *SHPFBul.*, CI (1955), 181-208.

⁴² *Ibid.*, pp. 182-83. See also Gilbert Chinard, *Les réfugiés huguenots en Amérique*, pp. 6-10.

⁴³ Charles W. Baird, *History of the Huguenot Emigration to America*, I, 164-65.

vesant had in Holland married Judith Bayard, the daughter of a French Huguenot minister. Throughout the seventeenth century individuals filtered across the Atlantic. During the persecutions associated with the policy of Archbishop William Laud 140 families sailed from England to Boston, and in 1622 some refugees from La Rochelle joined them.⁴⁴

But the chief wave came with the increase of pressure in France after 1681. Following brief sojourns in Holland or England—sometimes both—groups of Huguenots made the Atlantic crossing. Costs of transportation in many cases were borne by the royally supported Relief Committee in London, which was charged with “the Reliefe of Poore Protestants Lately come over from the Kingdom of France.”⁴⁵ In 1687 some six hundred refugees were thus helped. In 1682 twelve penniless refugees had arrived in Boston, and a collection was made in the churches for them. Every year more came, as records kept by the French government itself testify, with regular entries on those who had emigrated to “Baston,” as the French tongue would have it. The commercial contacts between the two Atlantic ports of La Rochelle and Boston encouraged Huguenots from the western provinces to seek refuge in the New England port city. The records of the Massachusetts General Court reveal the situation at the other end:

There are lately arrived fifteen French families with a Religious Protestant Minister, who are in all, Men, Women and Children, more than four-score soules, and are such as fled from France for Religions sake, and by their long passage at sea, their Doctor and twelve Men are Dead, and by other inconveniences, the living are reduced to great sickness and poverty and therefore objects of a true Christian Charity.⁴⁶

Some form of church organization existed among those gathered in Boston from 1685 on. On 24 November 1687 the authorities gave permission “to the French Congregation to meete in the Latine Schoolhouse att Boston as desired.”⁴⁷ After considerable difficulty and delay they got a church building in 1715. Some hard feeling resulted from the activities of the first minister, Laurent du Bois (Laurentius van den Bosch), who arrived with authority from the bishop of London. But he left soon. The most famous Boston Huguenot minister was Pierre Daillé, who arrived from New York in 1696. He had been a professor at the Huguenot academy of Saumur. In general the French Reformed got along very well

⁴⁴ Fernand de Schickler, *Églises du refuge*, p. 24; Baird, II, 190.

⁴⁵ Baird, p. 175.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 199.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 221. On Daillé see Chinard, pp. 113 ff.

with the rather straitlaced English Puritans. At least they had a Calvinistic theology in common. There were minor difficulties over such matters as the form of worship and the observance of Christmas and Easter. Both order of worship and form of church government came directly from the French Protestant tradition. The *anciens*—elders—occupied an important place in both service and administration of discipline. The *consistoire* was continued as an effective means for maintaining the tradition. But the almost inevitable decline set in in the early eighteenth century. The Huguenots were, here as elsewhere, quite receptive to assimilation in the general population. By 1748 the life of the French church was extinguished. Everyone, it seems, had become a good Englishman.

One of the notable leaders of the migration was Gabriel Bernon, who had been a merchant of La Rochelle at the time of the revocation. He fled first to Amsterdam and then to London, where he cooperated in the development of a plan for settling some Huguenots west of Boston. He also engaged in a successful business supplying naval stores to the British. During the spring and summer of 1688 about forty people crossed the ocean and went on to the frontier settlement of Oxford, which lies in Massachusetts almost directly north of the line dividing Rhode Island and Connecticut.⁴⁸ Here, fifty miles west of "civilization," on the old Indian Bay Path, a beginning was made toward settling new refugees right on the frontier. It did not work out very well. Although the proprietors, Bernon and his associate Isaac Bertrand du Tuffeau, personally visited the community and tried to help, difficulties of frontier life, together with the real threat of Indian raids, forced the little settlement out of existence. Before it was gone, however, a gristmill and a sawmill had been set up and a church organized and a building provided. Bernon built a fort. The Rev. Daniel Bondet was the minister, a French Protestant who had appointment under the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He was concerned about the effects of widespread sale of liquor among the neighboring Indians and sought to control the traffic. Indian troubles increased, and in 1696 an Indian raid forced the abandonment of the settlement.⁴⁹ This came just eight years before the famous Deerfield massacre.

In Rhode Island some Huguenots were settled in "Frenchtown," a part of East Greenwich. Forty-eight families developed a community here, but

⁴⁸ Baird, II, 204, 255. On Bernon's relation to Oxford see Chinard, pp. 84 ff.

⁴⁹ See A. Holmes, "Memoir of the French Protestants, Who Settled at Oxford, Massachusetts, A.D. 1686," *Collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, 3rd series, II, 1-83. Chinard, pp. 86-88.

continual troubles over landownership led to the scattering of the members to many towns. In all the New England communities probably about four thousand Huguenots were living by 1700.⁵⁰ Among them were some who became famous in American history—Paul Revere (Rivoire), the Faneuils, and Bowdoin (Pierre Baudouin), for example.

The Huguenots continued to settle in New York, both before and after it became English. In 1660 families arrived on the Dutch ship *Gilded Otter* and moved upriver to found a new colony close under the Catskill Mountains, which they named New Paltz. These refugees were among the many who had sojourned for a while in the Palatinate before migrating to the New World.⁵¹ In New York environs there were Huguenots on Staten Island and in New Rochelle. The Rochelle refugees, who had left their hometown in 1681, came from England in 1689, and by 1692 they had a church. This congregation in New York, however, had been founded earlier, in 1659.

The story of settlement in Pennsylvania is difficult because most of the Huguenots arrived singly or in family units. Moreover, here more than elsewhere, the cultural expression was covered over with a veneer of German, owing to somewhat extended residence in the Rhineland. Many of the names show up as German names rather than French. Many were lumped together with the "Dutch."⁵² Hence it is impossible to sort out the valid Huguenot refugees from the others. Along with the genuine Mennonites and German pietists were many Huguenots of Reformed faith, who more or less identified with the Teutonic-American culture in which they were immersed.

Farther south, in Virginia, several distinct Huguenot settlements were made.⁵³ One was located around Jamestown, another in Norfolk County, a third in Surry, and a fourth founded Manakintown, about twenty miles up the James River from the site of Richmond. Estimates of numbers are sketchy because of the lack of records and uncertainty regarding the country of origin. For example, one document is headed "*Rolle des françois, suisses, genevois, alemans, et flamans embarques dam [sic] le navire nemmé le Nasseau pour aller a la Virginie.*"⁵⁴ At least five hun-

⁵⁰ This round number is the commonly accepted estimate, but no firm figures can be given. See Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America*, p. 25; Louis Adamic, *Nation of Nations*, p. 79. Chinard, pp. 101-10, describes their real estate problems.

⁵¹ See especially Chinard, ch. iv, pp. 165 ff., "New Rochelle et New Paltz." See G. Elmore Reaman, *Trail of the Huguenots*, pp. 120-21.

⁵² See A. Stapleton, *Memorials of the Huguenots in America, With Special Reference to their Emigration to Pennsylvania*.

⁵³ See R. A. Brock, *Documents, Chiefly Unpublished, Relating to the Huguenot Emigration to Virginia*, *passim*.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 29.

dred persons, perhaps seven hundred, were involved in the Huguenot migration to Virginia. In 1701 Governor William Byrd made a report on the state of the French refugees which is worth quoting in full because of the insight it throws on conditions in early America:

The 10th of May, last, I with Coll. Randolph, Capt. Epes, Capt. Webb & c., went up to the new settlements of ye french Refugees at ye Manakan Town. Wee visited about seventy of their hutts, being, most of them, very mean; there being upwards of fourty of y'm betwixt ye two Creeks, w'ch is about four miles along on ye River, and have cleared all ye old Manacan ffields for near three miles together, as also some others (who came thither last ffeb'ry, as Blackman told us) have cleared new grounds toward the Lower Creeke, and done more worke than they y't went thither first. They have, all of y'm some Garden trade and have planted corne, but few of y'm had broke up their ground or wed the same, whereupon I sent for most of y'm and told y'm they must not expect to enjoy ye land unless they would endeavor to improve it, and if they make no corne for their subsistance next yeare they could not expect any further relief from the Country. Mon'r de Joux promised at their next meeting to acquaint them all w'th w't I said, and to endeavor to stirr y'm up to be diligent in weeding and securing their corne and wheat, of w'ch latter there are many small patches, but some is overrun w'th woods, and the horses (of w'ch they have severall, w'th some Cows) have spoiled more; most of y'm promise faire. Indeed, they are very poor, and I am not able to supply y'm w'th Corne (they being about 250 last month), having bought up all in these two countyes, and not haveing received one month's provision from all ye other Countyes, there being some in the Isle of Wight, but cannot hire any to fetch it. There are above 20 families seated for 4 or 5 miles below the Lower Creeke and have cleared small plantations, but few of y'm had broke up their grounds. Wee went up to ye Cole, w'ch is not above a mile and a-half from their settlement on the great upper Creeke, w'ch riseing very high in great Raines, hath washed away the Banke that the Coal lyes bare, otherwise it's very deep in the Earth, the land being very high and near the surface is plenty of Slate. Tho' these people are very poor, yet they seem very cheerful and are (as farr as wee could learne) very healthy, all they seem to desire is y't they might have Bread enough. Wee lodged there that night and returned the new Road I caused to be marked, which is extraordinary Levell and dry way and leads either to the ffals or the mill, a very good well beaten path for carts.

W. Byrd.⁵⁵

There were the usual difficulties, but they did not lead to crises. As a report to the Governor's Council put it in 1700,

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 42-44.

. . . though they have given unto us great many subjects of Complaints in troubling and vexing us, we will Charitably spare y^m; and to avoid all disputes and quarrels, desiring to live quietly and peaceably, say nothing of ye malice and tricks they employ every day to blame and accuse us without justice, cause or reason. . . .⁵⁶

That same year the French congregation was set apart as a separate parish and its inhabitants were freed from taxes for seven years.

The most interesting and in some ways the most important Huguenot settlements were those of South Carolina. At least in Charleston the influence has been pervading and persistent. The French refugees had a major part in developing the distinctive port city itself and formed several other settlements before 1700. The first sizable group to arrive, forty-five Protestants, came in 1679–80 under the leadership of René Petit and Jacob Guerrard.⁵⁷ Especially after 1685 many more arrived, the largest number in 1687. Altogether the Huguenots made up about 10 percent of the South Carolina population. Although the processes of assimilation were effective here as elsewhere, under the layers of antebellum and postbellum culture still lives the powerful colonial thrust of Huguenot influence. Evidence of its persistence is the continued existence of Charleston's French Huguenot church. Music and art received great stimulation. At an early date there were more cultured musicians and artists in Charleston than in either Boston or New York.⁵⁸

Other Huguenot settlements were made north of Charleston along the Santee River, in numerous plantations and in Jamestown, the only village. There were about eighty French families in this region by 1690 and one hundred by 1706. Most of them arrived shortly after 1685. For a time there was a Huguenot church in Jamestown. But the community declined and was presently abandoned, although some of the individual plantations flourished. Another important center was St. John's Berkeley, near the Cooper River and closer to Charleston. This location, better situated for future trade than Jamestown, became quite prosperous, and there were several very fine plantations.

In these and other centers five Huguenot churches existed before 1706: at Charleston, Goose Creek, Orange Quarter, Jamestown, French Santee, and St. John's Berkeley.⁵⁹ Unfortunately no church records are known to have survived the ravages of time and war. Tremendous ef-

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 51, 60.

⁵⁷ An excellent monograph is Arthur H. Hirsch, *Huguenots of Colonial South Carolina*.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 366.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 47.

forts were made by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel to bring all the French Reformed churches into the Anglican communion. These efforts succeeded in part because of the readiness of the French to merge with the larger society. Only the church in Charleston survived as a separate entity after the definitive Church Order of 1706, which provided for the establishment of Anglicanism as the religion of the colony.⁶⁰ The second largest church was in Santee, but this congregation had petitioned for reception into the Anglican establishment even before 1706. As Arthur Hirsch concludes, "The absorption into the Anglican church was indirectly coercive, rapid, and thorough."⁶¹

One of the most interesting aspects of the religious situation is the tension between Anglican and dissenter power in South Carolina. The balance was so close that the Huguenots were able to swing the decision. In 1700 there was a dissenter majority of about 3,450 persons. The English establishment had about 2,550. Under these circumstances the five hundred French Reformed Huguenots held the balance. Curiously the Huguenots, who in terms of church order and theological heritage had more in common with the English dissenters, moved progressively closer to the Anglicans and at last supported them in the promulgation of the Church Order of 1706.⁶² A series of minor conflicts over policy contributed to the increasing break between the Huguenots and their coreligionists, the dissenters. Thus it turned out that Huguenot representatives sat on the commission set up to enforce the Church Order. This result had two effects on the religious complexion of South Carolina: (1) The Huguenot church became more conservative and more closely allied with the aristocratic influences especially strong in Charleston, and (2) the Episcopal church in the colony and state became and remained mainly low church.

Another and somewhat different Huguenot migration flowed into Canada. In the early years, when Samuel de Champlain was one of the moving forces in the development of New France, Huguenots were welcomed. It was hoped by some that the St. Lawrence Valley might become a major refuge for French Protestants in a land in which their own tongue prevailed. The death of Henry IV in 1610, the arrival of the Jesuits, and the increasing tension with the English colonies thwarted this hope.⁶³ A majority of the governors of New France from 1540 to

⁶⁰ See the long letter in French reporting on efforts to enlist the support of the Huguenot minister, *ibid.*, pp. 56-57, n. 31.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, p. 90.

⁶² See *ibid.*, ch. v, pp. 103-30.

⁶³ The most thorough study of Huguenot influences in Canada is Reaman's *Trail of the Huguenots*.

1632 were Huguenot or sympathetic with the Huguenot cause. But in 1633 Richelieu, masterminding the establishment of the Bourbon absolutism, forbade the emigration of Protestants to Canada.

On the other hand, a company of Protestants from Montbéliard, lumped together with the "Dutch," settled in Dutchtown, a suburb of Halifax, in Nova Scotia under support of Lord Cornwallis.⁶⁴

Far to the south, in the French Antilles, a thousand French Protestants experienced involuntary resettlement as they were transported into forced labor on Martinique.⁶⁵ In 1687, for example, two ships carrying 169 prisoners sailed from September till February to the West Indies. One of the victims was Samuel de Pechels, who landed in Santo Domingo—Port-au-Prince—and subsequently escaped and lived to write his *Memoirs*. Many others escaped, some to New York, others to Bermuda. In addition to those forcibly sent to the French Antilles were a few hundred who, having slipped from France into Holland, embarked to Dutch-controlled Surinam on the northern coast of South America. Many of them came in 1686 and settled in Paramaribo.

In the scattering of Huguenots around the world we should not forget those who went another direction—south to the Cape of Good Hope. After the revocation a small stream trickled to Cape Town, where some remained. Most went north, however, to settle in agricultural communities, the most famous being De Fransche Hoek, where the Huguenots comprised a majority. Their descendants took leading parts in the later history of South Africa. The De Villiers of La Rochelle provided two later chief justices. Both General Smuts and President Malan were Huguenot on their mother's side.

In the United States also Huguenot blood flowed in many an important political person. In addition to those famous in New England, one might mention Jacob Duché (one of the chaplains of the Continental Congress), Henry Laurens, John Jay, and the mothers of Whittier, Hamilton, and Roosevelt (Delano—De la Noye).

D. Waldenses in America

Early Americans were notoriously careless of nice ethnic and linguistic distinctions. In Pennsylvania all manner of people were lumped together under the general description "Dutch." Many French Huguenot refugees who had sojourned for a year or more in the Rhineland were so described.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶⁵ Baird, I, 221–30.

Likewise the little-known people who had survived for centuries in the upper valleys of the Italian Alps, the Waldenses, were generally confused with other movements. If it is difficult to sort out persons of French ancestry who assumed Germanic names, it is still more difficult to identify the Waldenses among the Huguenots. In many cases clear proof is simply absent.⁶⁶

Nevertheless the circumstances of the migration of the seventeenth century encourage the belief that substantial numbers of Waldenses properly so called came to America, sometimes mingled in with Huguenots. Shortly after the middle of the century, as we have seen in another chapter, a ruthless massacre of these Alpine people took place—the Piedmontese Easter of 1655. The very next year some of the group which sailed from Amsterdam to New Netherland and settled along the Delaware River, in New Amstel, were probably Waldenses. Probably some of them settled early on Staten Island. About 167 persons, in three ships, were involved in this particular movement, and although direct evidence is lacking, contemporary comments suggest that many of them were Waldenses.

Indications are clearer that at least some of the settlers in Manakintown, Virginia, who arrived in 1700 on four ships from London, were Waldenses. One of the ministers had been pastor of the church in Fene-strelle, Val Perosa, until 1662. References were made to Vaudois among the migrants. Some of the names are plainly those of Waldensian regions. Of the total number of settlers, which has been estimated at 500 or 700, it is not known how many were Waldenses, but they undoubtedly were distributed among the various colonies, chief of which was Manakintown.

A few Waldenses made their way to the new colony of Georgia. John Wesley encountered them more than once during his stay as chaplain.⁶⁷ At one time he read prayers in Italian to the small community. The Georgia immigrants of course were of a later generation, dating from the 1730's. Some may have been attracted by the encouragement of silk culture, which was then being promoted. A similar group was that led by Jean Pierre Purry into Carolina in 1726. The original twenty-six were followed in 1732 by a considerably larger number, who founded Purrysburg in South Carolina. How many Waldenses were in this short-lived community is not known.

All of the other Waldensian settlements in the United States came in

⁶⁶ This problem is recognized in George B. Watts, *Waldenses in the New World*; see esp. pp. 10, 13, 17. This book provides the basis for most of this section. But see also Brock.

⁶⁷ John Wesley, *Journal of the Rev. John Wesley*, I, 59.

the nineteenth century as a result of the many factors which affected the major migrations of that time. One such colony was located in Missouri, not far from Monett, Barry County. The members were resettled from the Waldensian colony in Uruguay. Another center was Valdese, North Carolina, located in Burke County. The first settlers here arrived direct from the Waldensian valleys in 1893. The motives for these nineteenth-century movements were largely economic.

The economic factor was primary also in the settlements of Waldenses in South America. Some forty-five families came in the 1850's to the Department of Florida in Uruguay. Later a new settlement was made along the River Rosario, the first settlement in the New World to be composed altogether of Waldenses. It was variously named *Colonie du Rosario Oriental*, *Colonia Piamontesa*, and *Colonia Valdense*, the latter being its present name. Other settlements were made in Uruguay and some in Argentina. But to designate these people as religious refugees would be quite inaccurate, for the movements were made subsequent to the revision of the Italian constitution and the freeing of the Waldenses from the restrictions formerly imposed.

Chapter 28

Immigrants and Refugees in America

"Keep, ancient lands, your storied pomp!" cries she,
With silent lips. "Give me your tired, your poor,
Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,
The wretched refuse of your teeming shore.
Send these, the homeless, the tempest-tossed, to me!
I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Emma Lazarus, for the Statue of Liberty

From the beginning the country that became the United States has been a refuge for the tempest-tossed. Such it was for the English settlers and the Huguenots of the colonial period. Such it was for the varied groups of Teutonic peoples discussed in this chapter, throughout the colonial period and down to the present time. Such it was also, in a quite different way, for the followers of that odd personality Joseph Smith, who transplanted a faith based on experiences in western New York State to the desert wastes of Utah. Both externally, through immigration, and internally, through westward expansion, the New World has provided a safety valve for release of the pressures of persecution and privation. That is to say, the story of religious refugees now must be seen in the context of the larger pattern of immigration and westward movement.

A. Colonial Movements

In addition to the English and the Huguenots the major migrations of the colonial period involved Germans and Irish. Especially from

Ulster, as a result of crop failures and economic dislocations owing to the introduction of cotton, came large numbers of the so-called Scotch-Irish, the Protestant inhabitants of the northern part of the Emerald Isle.¹ Although Pennsylvania became well known for its reception of all sorts of German sectaries, soon the Irish immigration outdistanced them all. Ulstermen moved in and spread up and down the great valley, providing the Appalachian region with an ethnic flavor all its own. Although the religious factor entered as part of the political situation, these Scotch-Irish could scarcely be called religious refugees any more than the participants in massive Irish Catholic migrations of the later period.

About the same time began the long-lasting movement of people from the Rhineland to America. The Thirty Years' War and the enterprises of Louis XIV later in the seventeenth century had completely disrupted life in the western portions of what today is Germany. We have already seen some of the results of persecutions in movements of refugees in Europe itself. Late in the century, and especially early in the eighteenth, thousands of Germans, most of them from the Palatinate and hence lumped together as "Palatines," gave up and migrated to the New World.² The factors were multiple, a complicated combination of economic, political, and religious forces. Crops had been sadly disrupted by war; agricultural methods were antiquated; markets were disoriented; regional rivalries interfered; outmoded aristocratic authorities struggled in complex power plays; religious animosities found violent expression. All of this meant that many citizens, especially those whose religious affiliations were at variance with the official standard set by the Treaty of Westphalia, those who rejected the state church, were forced to emigrate. Actual persecution broke out here and there from time to time, although it did not usually take the bloody form of an era of religious wars.

As a result, in the first decade of the eighteenth century several thousand Palatines came by Rhine boat to Rotterdam and sailed to America, landing in New York. They scattered north and west—up the Hudson to the Mohawk Valley to settle "German flats" and establish towns like Newburgh, Oppenheim, and Herkimer, west into the ridges of Pennsylvania and the Susquehanna Valley. The era of the "Pennsylvania Dutch" had come. This was, according to Carl Wittke, "the largest single immigration to America in the colonial period."³ By 1709 a thousand persons were pouring into Rotterdam every week. About 13,500 were given temporary

¹ Cf. Marcus L. Hansen, *Atlantic Migration, 1607-1860*, p. 49; Carl F. Wittke, *We Who Built America*, pp. 43 ff.

² Cf. Hansen, p. 47; Wittke, pp. 67-69; Louis Adamic, *Nation of Nations*, pp. 168-72.

³ Wittke, p. 68.

accommodations in large camps in London, where most of the migrants sojourned for several months before shipping became available. In New York and Pennsylvania they settled soberly to build a solid new life without frills. Michaux in his *Travels to the Westward of the Allegheny Mountains* (1802) remarked about the society maintained by these German immigrants:

They lived much better than the Americans, descendants of the English, Scotch and Irish. They are less addicted to the use of spirituous liquors, and possess not . . . that unsettled disposition, which frequently, from the slightest motives, induces them to wander hundreds of miles in the hope of meeting with a more fertile soil.⁴

For some of this multitude religion was a prime consideration in the decision to leave home. They were the members of small free churches not recognized in the official pantheon of Westphalia, being neither Catholic nor Lutheran nor Reformed. By far the most significant were the Mennonites, who had already long experience with persecution and migration. In the Palatine particularly lived thousands who formerly had been driven from their original homes in Switzerland. Considerable internal migration in Germany had brought Mennonites together in particular locations, such as Krefeld in the lower Rhine region. Although economic and political pressures affected them as well as other Germans, the religious factor was determinative. A point of special concern was the growing tendency toward conscription for military service. Being pacifists for conscience' sake, they faced a challenge to their faith in the demand that they serve in the armed forces. As the world moved toward the era of total war, this challenge became more and more peremptory. Therefore the Mennonites, and their peace-minded relatives, may properly be considered religious refugees, a special element in the larger migrations of the times.

The movement of Mennonites to the New World began during the colonial years, and continued in several waves throughout the nineteenth century. Three movements, one large and two small, belong to the colonial period: (1) from the lower Rhine to Germantown, 1683-1702, about two hundred persons; (2) Swiss and Palatine Mennonites to eastern Pennsylvania, 1707-56, about four thousand persons; and (3) Swiss and Palatine Amish to eastern Pennsylvania, 1738-56, about two hundred persons.⁵

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 83, quoting from Michaux, p. 27.

⁵ A statistical summary is in *ME*, IV, 777.

Krefeld, in the lower Rhineland, had been a place of refuge for persecuted minorities since the sixteenth century. The late-seventeenth-century War of the Palatinate brought a large new wave of refugees—so many, in fact, that difficulties began to develop over the increased problems of care and security. The last sizable immigration into Krefeld came in 1694 with the arrival of refugees from Rheydt, a part of the duchy of Jülich.⁶ Before this, however, pressures had led some of the sectaries to move out to the New World. Furthermore, by now the influence of the proselyting Quakers was notable. Thus the first migration from Krefeld to colonial America was composed chiefly of former Mennonites who had already become Quakers. The strong spiritual force of Quakerism combined with the decided separatist tendency of the Mennonites was a most explosive combination. Certainly the adherence of some of the already suspect Mennonites to the new Quaker movement did not endear them to the authorities.

In discussing the earliest migration, from Krefeld to Germantown, Pennsylvania, in 1683, C. Henry Smith speaks of "Mennonite-Quakers" rather than Quaker-Mennonites.⁷ Thirteen families, all but one of them now Quakers, sailed in 1683 to Philadelphia via Gravesend, England, and arrived the first of October. They moved upriver to start a new settlement which became Germantown, the "Jamestown" of the German Americans. Gradually more bona fide Mennonites came to join in the establishment of a first Mennonite congregation, which by 1690 had a church organization and a regular minister.

From Germantown Palatines spread through the pioneer counties of eastern Pennsylvania. In 1702 a settlement was made along Skippack Creek in what is now Montgomery County. But the major movement came in the second decade, when a large and continuous migration took place. Between eight and ten thousand refugees poured into England. Although most subsequently had to return home, some were settled in Ireland, where they later provided a rich field for the work of John Wesley, and some six hundred came to Carolina. After 1709 many Palatines, mostly Swiss Mennonites who had lived for several decades in the Palatinate, settled in the rich farmlands of Montgomery, Bucks, Berks, and Lehigh counties. The most significant settlement was that along Pequea Creek, in the Susquehanna region, in what is now Lancaster County. This migration continued down to mid-century, when it was interrupted by the French and Indian War. In the colonial period about 2,500 Men-

⁶ Friedrich Nieper, *Die ersten deutschen Auswanderer von Krefeld nach Pennsylvanien*, pp. 25, 59, 90 ff.

⁷ C. Henry Smith, *Story of the Mennonites*, p. 530.

nonites came from the Rhineland to develop what became famous as the Pennsylvania Dutch farming region. They tended to gather in particular areas where they owned most of the land and formed close communities. They were, we must remember, only a small portion of the larger German immigration, perhaps 10 percent of the total. In mid-twentieth century about 25,000 Mennonites live in Lancaster County.⁸

A curious aspect of the migration was the practice of obtaining ocean passage by the sale of one's labor power for a period of years in the colony. The "redemptioners," as they were called, made a contract with the captain of their ship which permitted him to offer their labor for sale in Philadelphia for a stipulated time, usually four or five years, or until the individual reached the age of twenty-one. The auctions at which labor service was sold must have looked like slave auctions, but indentured service was one means whereby poor persons could obtain passage across the Atlantic. Many Mennonites were involved in this system.

From the original settlement expansion westward followed the routes used by all the pioneers—into the Shenandoah region of Virginia, out to the Juniata region of Pennsylvania, and even farther to western Pennsylvania and to Ontario. The migration westward is part of the story of the Mennonites in America but has little to do with a history of religious refugees. The same may be said of the nineteenth-century expansion of Mennonites into Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Only original migrations of refugees from Europe concern us here.

Among the Mennonites were relatively small numbers of the more strict group of Amish. The first separate Amish settlement came in 1736, when a few families moved farther north from Philadelphia, into Berks County, to Northkill Creek near Hamburg. Jacob Hostetler and Jacob Hartzler led these hardy pioneers, who dared the dangers of the Indian frontier to start a new community. Unfortunately, in a few years the disruptions of Indian raids during the French and Indian War forced its abandonment.⁹ Another settlement was made in eastern Chester County, in Whiteland Township, where a first Amish meetinghouse was erected in 1790. Also the Conestoga congregation was established in Lancaster County. Relations between the Mennonites and the Amish were usually rather strained, in spite of the fact that most of the Mennonite immigrants of this period were themselves conservative.

There were other religious dissenters who, for the usual variety of motives, in which religious persecution played a significant part, came

⁸ See the articles in *ME*, IV, on Pennsylvania and Lancaster.

⁹ Calvin G. Bachman, *Old Order Amish of Lancaster County*, p. 57.

to America. Almost the very birth of the Church of the Brethren took place in the course of migration. The little bands of pietistic faithful who gathered together in Schwarzenau, Wittgenstein, Westphalia, in 1708-9 were there only ten years before being forced to escape to Holland and America.¹⁰ A report sent to the elector palatine in 1706 remarked, "They would certainly have gained a majority and captured many hundred souls in a short time, if we had not gone in person to the scene at Schriesheim and driven away this heretical pack."¹¹

A formal edict against pietists of various kinds, published the same year, was followed by numerous instances of imprisonment and banishment.¹² Four congregations or "brotherhoods" developed in the Wittgenstein area, where Alexander Mack became one of the foremost leaders. Some of the Brethren who had taken refuge in Krefeld fell into controversy and migrated in a body to America, under the leadership of Peter Becker, in 1719.

A decade later the larger group, as a result of more difficult relations with the authorities, economic problems, and probably also internal disputes, migrated to Friesland in the Netherlands, where they found refuge among the Mennonites.¹³ In 1729 Mack organized a migration to Pennsylvania. As the *Ephrata Chronicle* reported briefly,

In the year 1729, Alexander Mack, the founder of the Baptists, with the rest of the congregation mentioned, left Friesland and came to Pennsylvania. This venerable man would have well deserved to be received with arms of love by all the pious in unity, after all that he had had to suffer in Germany, especially from his own people. . . .¹⁴

This movement of Brethren, or German Baptists ("Dunkers"), ran its course in Europe and presently disappeared. In America, however, a new denomination arose which grew up along with Mennonites and related groups as one of the peace churches.

Another group of refugees of unique background were those Salzburger who, instead of settling down in exile from Austria and Germany, migrated finally to the New World and settled particularly in Georgia. These were the people John Wesley met during his short sojourn in Savannah. The Salzburgers lived in Ebenezer, a little community which

¹⁰ See Donald F. Durnbaugh, ed., *European Origins of the Brethren*, esp. pp. 40, 48-49, 280, and Floyd E. Mallott, *Studies in Brethren History*, esp. pp. 29, 37, 40.

¹¹ Quoted in Durnbaugh, p. 40; Durnbaugh gives many documents in full.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 78, 86, 96, 105.

¹³ *Ibid.*, pp. 289, 296.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 298-99.

they founded in 1734 about twenty-five miles from Savannah. By 1741 about twelve hundred had arrived in the village.¹⁵ Both Old and New Ebenezer—the latter closer to Savannah—were settled by these Lutheran refugees. The first group numbered about two hundred when they arrived.

The same year the Salzburgers came to Georgia another small group arrived in Pennsylvania, the remnants of the Schwenckfelders. The followers of Casper Schwenckfeld had weathered the persecutions of the period of the Reformation and taken refuge in Augsburg, Nürnberg, Württemberg, the Palatinate, Tyrol, and Silesia. The congregations in the latter province left under persecution in 1734 and migrated to Penn's colony, where they continued their church organization and survived, whereas the European remnants died out.

Still another Protestant group of refugees was made up of the Moravians. But in this case, as with the Quakers, it is hard to distinguish refugees from missionaries because the Moravians were fired with the pietist desire to proclaim the gospel to all men. In 1722 some of them left Moravia to accept refuge on the estates of Count Nicholas von Zinzendorf, where they founded the little community of Herrnhut. One group sailed to Georgia, along with John Wesley, in 1734–35. In 1740 they moved on to Pennsylvania and settled around Nazareth and Bethlehem. The desire to work with Indians took them farther west to the frontier communities of Gnadenhütten and Schönbrunn to carry on missionary work. In all these migrations the religious factor, particularly opposition to the requirement to bear arms, played a part. This was the chief reason for the move from Georgia to Pennsylvania. The experience of Zinzendorf himself is typical. Since he had gradually become the leader of the little community he had received, he himself was banished in 1738. But he used the situation as an opportunity to embark on a missionary journey which brought him in 1741 to Pennsylvania hoping to unite the various German free-church groups into a united Christian fellowship.¹⁶ The Moravians were prominent among the many refugees who turned necessity into opportunity.

America was also a refuge for Roman Catholics. When the crisis which led directly to the French and Indian War came to a head, the British, suspecting the French Canadians' loyalty in the disputed province of Acadia (parts of modern Nova Scotia and New Brunswick), deported about three thousand of the inhabitants. In this case religious differences

¹⁵ Wittke, p. 74; cf. John Wesley, *Journal*, I, 374, 397, 404, 406.

¹⁶ For general information see Edward Langton, *History of the Moravian Church*, and J. R. Weinlick, *Count Zinzendorf and Moravian Diaspora*.

only served to exacerbate the political suspicions and military difficulties. The Acadians were scattered in the British colonies to the south, but one group went all the way to Bayou Teche, Louisiana, to survive as an isolated cultural island down to present times. These people can scarcely be described as religious refugees, but religion was a factor in their troubles.

Something has already been said regarding the Roman Catholic refugees of the period of the French Revolution. Many of the clerical exiles made their way to America and found new service in scattered communities of Roman Catholics, especially during the violent years of the last decade of the eighteenth century. Some came via Germany or England, others directly in American ships from Channel ports.¹⁷ An influential group under the leadership of Jean Louis Lefebvre de Cheverus, who became bishop of Boston, developed in the capital city of Massachusetts. Another important center was Baltimore, where St. Mary's Seminary became the first Catholic seminary in North America. The Asylum colony, a misguided and ill-conceived experiment in aristocratic living on the frontier in Pennsylvania, included some refugee priests. Altogether about one hundred French refugee priests came to America during the time of John Carroll in the late eighteenth century. As prefect apostolic for the United States he welcomed the services of much-needed priests.

Farther west some of the refugees made their way to such Catholic centers as Vincennes and Gallipolis. The latter was particularly affected by refugees from the French Revolution. Other priests found service in Prairie du Rocher in southern Illinois, on Mackinac Island, and in New Orleans and Mobile. An eddy of the Revolution brought violence to the island of Santo Domingo, where riots forced many priests to flee for their lives. These moved north to eastern coast cities: New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Wilmington, and Savannah.

B. Nineteenth-Century Migrations from Europe

Religious refugees were almost swamped in the flood of immigration during the years of heaviest flow from Europe. The latter part of the nineteenth century changed forever the ethnic and social makeup of the American people. After an ebb in the early years of the century a revival began in the 1830's, sparked by the cold winter of 1829-30 and the political unrest which accompanied the revolutions of 1830. Once again

¹⁷ See Leo F. Ruskowski, *French Émigré Priests in the United States (1791-1815)*, and Frances S. Childs, *French Refugee Life in the United States, 1790-1800*.

migrants moved down the Rhine to Holland and overland to Le Havre (after 1830) and to Bremen (from 1843 on). Hamburg, Liverpool, Belfast, and Dublin also played a major part in directing the flow. A new participant at the other end was New Orleans, which had become a major cotton port and entry to the whole Mississippi Valley. A widespread famine in 1847 and the revolutions of 1848 added impetus to the stream. The stage was set for what Marcus Hansen and others have called the "Great Migration."¹⁸ The decade 1850–60 saw the arrival of 2,600,000 people in the United States—Irish, German, French, Swiss, Scandinavian. A high point of the German migration came in 1853–54, when people poured out of the Palatinate. After 1847 there existed a National Society for German Emigration.

Now only a small portion of this flood, perhaps 10 percent of the Germans, involved Mennonites or other religiously motivated people. Some of the movements were quite different in composition from the others. Beginning in the 1880's, for example, large numbers of Jews from the Eastern Pale—Poland and Russia—began to migrate to America.¹⁹ The assassination of Tsar Alexander III provoked a series of pogroms which made life miserable for the downtrodden Jews of eastern Europe. The high point came in the last decade of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth centuries. Over 70 percent of the Jews who left Russia came to the United States, the rest going mainly to Canada, South Africa, and other portions of the British Empire. Yet another chapter was written in the history of this wandering people. As usual religious factors were strongly mixed with political, economic, and purely emotional factors in which irrational anti-Semitism played no small part. The flood of new Jews from eastern Europe overwhelmed the relatively small American Jewish population, till then mostly immigrants from western Europe. The arrival of the Ashkenazim marked a transformation in the whole stance of American Jewry.

Partly in reaction against the Jewish immigration, but originally and principally against the non-Anglo-Saxon Roman Catholic movements, arose a series of antforeign activities and parties, such as the Native American party of 1834, the American Republican party of 1843, the Know-Nothings of the 1850's. One can discern a sequence beginning with political pressure, economic privation, or religious persecution in Europe, leading to emigration to America, followed by antforeign agitation in this country.

A relatively small minority of these millions of immigrants were the

¹⁸ Hansen, p. 280.

¹⁹ Salo Baron, *Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets*, pp. 87–88.

religiously motivated members of European sects or free churches, which suffered various degrees of discrimination in favor of state churches and encountered increasing difficulty over the question of universal military training. These people, for whom their faith was important, brought their churches to America along with their other precious possessions. They felt a special need to cherish the old ways of faith as they began to rebuild their churches in the New World. Hence they tended to react against the loosening influences of American freedom and liberalism, to cling to the old ways as a matter of principle. This reaction led to a certain amount of isolation from the mainstreams of American life and resulted for some in an increasingly rigid traditionalism and fundamentalism.

Such tendencies were encouraged by the Mennonite principle of separation from the world and by the ingrained conservatism illustrated by the Amish. Hence it is possible to trace the self-contained movements from Europe to America, to observe the reestablishment of the old ways in the New World and the subsequent influence of the new on the old. The spread of the practice of universal military training in European countries, together with repeated political unrest and economic distress, led to a revival of Mennonite (along with other) migration in the decades before the Civil War. From Switzerland, Bavaria, the Palatinate, and Hessen-Darmstadt, together with Amish from Alsace and Lorraine, Mennonites came to Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois. Gratz identifies three major periods for the Bernese Mennonites: (1) 1816 through the 1830's; (2) the 1850's, when military exemption was refused; and (3) the 1870's, when military service was more rigidly required.²⁰

From Basel in 1817 Benedikt Schrag came to Wayne County, Ohio, to establish a settlement which soon brought into being two new churches. Wayne County was hilly, reminding the new immigrants of their Jura homes, with the difference that the soil was fertile. Others came later direct from Normanvillars, Switzerland, to Putnam County; they found not the hills of home but cheap land near the Black Swamp which turned out, after laborious draining, to be remarkably fertile. Michael Neuenschwander started what became an important Mennonite settlement near Bluffton, Ohio.²¹ By 1838 a new Indiana settlement had been founded in the region where Berne is now the principal community. The name indicates the origin. Also in the 1830's came some Hessian Mennonites to Butler County, in southwest Ohio. Bavarians settled in Iowa (Lee County), and Summerfield, Illinois.

²⁰ Delbert L. Gratz, *Bernese Anabaptists and Their American Descendants*, p. 128.

²¹ The most well-organized survey is in Smith, pp. 570 ff.

Altogether rough estimates would indicate that, between 1817 and 1860, 1,500 Amish, 1,200 Swiss Mennonites, 250 Bavarians, 150 Hessians, and 50 Dutch arrived direct from Europe. It must be emphasized that most of the population of the Mennonite communities established in this period in the prairie states came from the older settlements in Pennsylvania and hence represent an internal migration associated more with the westward movement than with European migration.²² In the case of Ohio the following specific movements can be identified: Amish from Alsace and Hesse in 1819, Amish and Mennonites from the Jura region of Switzerland in 1819–23, Mennonites from Switzerland and Alsace in 1825, Amish from Alsace and Montbéliard in 1834, and Mennonites from Bern in 1835.²³ In Illinois the Amish were the first to arrive, some of them direct from Alsace, the Palatinate, and Hesse, via the New Orleans gateway (and some via New York). In the 1840's Mennonites from Bavaria settled around Summerfield, Illinois, in the southwest.

Although facilities for long-distance travel were somewhat improved in the nineteenth century, the journey was still a major challenge and fraught with considerable danger. The earlier migrants began with a boat trip down the Rhine to Holland, took a sailing ship to Philadelphia, and proceeded thence on foot to the western settlements. Later travelers left from Le Havre or Bremen and arrived usually in New York or New Orleans. Until after the Civil War most land travel was by wagon or on foot, although many made use of the Erie Canal in the 1850's. One weary immigrant wrote a warning from journey's end in Wooster, Ohio, in 1817: "Anyone who wishes to make this journey should think twice. The trip is difficult; more difficult than dangerous. I say again that I advise no one to come who does not find pleasure in work. The sleepy and lazy may well stay at home."²⁴

One of the more influential of the Bavarian refugees, Christian Krehbiel, provides a connection between this earlier migration from the Rhineland and the later mass migration of the Russian Mennonites. He left his home in 1851 because of the military regulations in Bavaria.²⁵ He went down the Rhine to stop over in the crowded "dark emigrant house" in Rotterdam. Sailing from Le Havre, he arrived after thirty-five days in New York, made his way to Iowa, and finally settled in Summerfield, Illinois. He became involved in immigration of Mennonites by

²² Statistics are those in *ibid.*, p. 583.

²³ *ME*, IV, 24.

²⁴ See the discussion in Gratz, pp. 136–37. Quote is from p. 138.

²⁵ See Christian Krehbiel, *Prairie Pioneer*, pp. 24–25.

reference to him of a letter of inquiry from Cornelius Jansen, a leading representative of the Russian Mennonites. From then on Krehbiel was associated with men like John F. Funk of Elkhart, Indiana, and Jacob Y. Schantz of Manitoba in assisting with plans and money the thousands of Mennonites who poured into the United States in the 1870's from southern Russia. He was connected with the unofficial visit of four young men in 1872 and the official delegation of 1873. He exerted much effort to find suitable homes in the open lands of the plains states and long was active in the Mennonite Aid Committee. Nevertheless, although the older settled Mennonites of the East offered assistance to their brethren in need, as it turned out the two major branches of Mennonite migration remained more or less independent of each other. The task of uniting the Mennonite witness in America has been a hard one and is by no means completed yet.

The migration of the "Russian" Mennonites, therefore, should be seen as quite distinct from the movement emanating from the older Rhenish settlements. The people with whom we are here concerned were Dutch ethnically, German culturally, and Russian geographically. They were a main branch of the descendants of the sixteenth-century Anabaptists who had fled east along the Baltic Sea to settle in Danzig and Polish Prussia, whence they migrated late in the eighteenth century to south Russia to form the Chortitza and Molotschna settlements and their daughter colonies. One of the most important of these was the Alexanderwohl community and church, whose peregrinations we have already traced to Kansas as an illustrative case study. We now take a broad view of the forces which led about a third of these Mennonites of south Russia to migrate in the 1870's to the United States and Canada. Since roughly eighteen thousand persons were involved, this was one of the more substantial movements of the descendants of the Radical Reformation.

In 1870 Cornelius Jansen, who had made useful contacts during a period of public service as consular representative for Prussia in Berdyansk, wrote to Daniel Hege in the United States asking about conditions there which might affect a possible migration of Mennonites from Russia.²⁶ His letter, which on Hege's death came into the hands of Christian Krehbiel in Summerfield, Illinois, marks the first direct contact between the Russian Mennonites and those settled in America. It also symbolizes the role of Jansen in promoting the cause of emigration, to which

²⁶ There is some uncertainty as to Jansen's specific post, its duration, and its connection with Prussia or Mecklenburg. See Gustav E. Reimer and G. R. Gaeddert, *Exiled by the Tsar*, pp. 17-19. The letter is discussed on pp. 45-47.

he devoted much of his considerable talent and influence. He corresponded too with John F. Funk, another of the key American figures, whose home base was Elkhart, Indiana. Jansen's connection with the British consul in Berdyansk and his reputation as an experienced negotiator helped much in the early uncertain days of dreams and plans.

A new Russian conscription law of 1871 brought matters to a head. The Mennonites were divided over whether their efforts should be in the direction of obtaining exemption from the new law or toward emigration. Jansen was deeply interested in the project for emigration to America. In a day when few Mennonites in Russia had the foggiest notion of what America was really like, he performed a valuable service in spreading information, especially a *Sammlung von Notizen über Amerika*, which he published in Danzig in 1872 and distributed widely among his friends. He also promoted the cause with William Hespeler, a Canadian representative in Europe who made special inquiry about the possibility of Mennonite migration to Canada. The British ambassador in St. Petersburg, however, being more remote from the scene and closer to the larger issues of power politics, tended to drag his feet. Only with great effort, and at the cost of his own banishment, did Jansen and those associated with him succeed in obtaining permission for mass emigration over a period of ten years.²⁷ When the authorities discovered his active role in promoting the departure of desired farmers, he was peremptorily ordered to leave the country within one week. Only on appeal through diplomatic channels was he given a two months' period of grace. On 26 May 1873 he embarked at Berdyansk for Odessa, thence traveled by rail to Danzig and via England to Canada. He later settled in the United States.

Jansen strongly urged provision for a special area of settlement for Mennonites only. This plan ran directly counter to the American Homestead Act, which looked toward individual settlement on smaller farm plots. A long debate in Congress ended in failure to pass the special enabling legislation necessary for such a privilege for Mennonites. They had to work out their own area of settlement through negotiation with the railroads for the land-grant sections. These could be supplemented with purchases from individuals who had taken up homestead land in the public sections, which alternated with the railroad's land-grant sections.²⁸

In spite of attempts by the Russian government to discourage the

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 51-52, 59.

²⁸ See C. Henry Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 77-79; Reimer and Gaedert, pp. 92-94.

emigration, plans went forward during 1872 and 1873. An early and unofficial expedition by four young Mennonites established useful contacts and provided needed information. In 1873 an official inspection committee, composed of several delegates from the Mennonites not only of Chortitza and Molotschna but also of Volhynia and Prussia, as well as representatives of the *Kleine Gemeinde* and the Hutterites, made an extensive tour of the United States and Canada, between them covering most of the areas which subsequently witnessed the mass immigration. They had extended consultations with their Mennonite contacts and with representatives of the interested railroads and government officials. They even had a meeting with President Grant. Some of them saw the wilderness of Manitoba south and west of Winnipeg, the Dakota plains around Fargo and Yankton, Nebraska and Kansas, and the more settled (and expensive) lands farther east. They returned home with no clear or unanimous decision for one or the other of these areas. As it turned out, various groups settled in each region, depending on the predilections of the leaders and the persuasiveness of the government and railroad officials. Some were swayed strongly by the more specific assurance from Canada that they would be exempt from any and all military service. Others were impressed with the freedom enjoyed in the United States, the more equable climate, and the more desirable land. They were unanimous, however, on the desirability of emigration to the New World and set about accordingly making plans for one of the most impressive planned migrations in the history of the movement of peoples. Before it was over about ten thousand persons had settled in the Great Plains of the United States and eight thousand in Manitoba. Some of the Russian settlements were almost completely emptied as whole congregations migrated *en masse* under their pastors. Others were divided as half of the people went, half stayed. From almost all communities at least some families pulled out for the New World.

Among the leaders from Russia were Cornelius Jansen, Bernhard Warkentin, Leonhard Sudermann, and David Goerz. In America the refugees were welcomed and assisted by Funk, Krehbiel, Schantz, and a host of other able organizers. The sequence of waves began in the spring of 1874, when a group of Swiss Volhynians, ten families under Andreas Schrag, sailed to New York and traveled thence via Elkhart to Yankton, South Dakota.²⁹ About the same time a small group moved from Thorn, in the Vistula River valley, together with others from Russian Poland, to Bruderthal, near Marion Center, Kansas. These were

²⁹ This account of the migration is based on *ibid.*, pp. 97 ff.

led by William Ewert. Thirty families of Krimmer Brethren, under Jacob Wiebe and Johann Harder, came from the Crimea (Annefeld near Simferopol), via Odessa, Lemberg, Breslau, Hamburg, Liverpool, and New York, to Elkhart, where they stayed while looking for land. During the summer the large Alexanderwohl group arrived, with some from other of the Molotschna settlements. The main body of the isolated Swiss Volhynians, comprising several villages, migrated to Yankton and Kansas. They were very poor and stood in much need of help all along the way.

In autumn another settlement of Mennonites of Volhynia, those near Ostrog under Tobias Unruh, arrived almost penniless because they had lost most of their possessions through forced sales. It was cold winter by the time they reached Newton, Florence, and Great Bend, Kansas, where they had to take refuge in empty store buildings. Throughout 1874 Hutterites from Bergthal and Fürstenland, and members of the Kleine Gemeinde streamed in, most of them to Canada. The route followed by the latter is interesting: about one hundred families went from Hamburg to Montreal, then to Toronto, where they embarked on a Great Lakes steamer for Duluth, then overland to Moorehead, Minnesota, where they took the river steamer down the Red River to Winnipeg, and finally by wagon to their Manitoba reserve. The two thousand people of Bergthal migrated in a body to Manitoba, but their actual travel was by separate groups spread over some three years.

In 1874, 6,375 people made the great voyage, being about a third of the total number who migrated in the 1870's. Every year more came, some to the United States, some to Canada. In 1875 Canada was the favored goal, around four thousand going there as against fourteen hundred to the United States. In the end, however, the majority settled south of the border, the figures being ten thousand for the United States and eight thousand for Canada. About half of the United States contingent settled in Kansas.

The task of preparing the way and caring for so many immigrants fell heavily on the shoulders of American Mennonites, especially those most directly involved, like John F. Funk, businessman and editor of a Mennonite paper in Elkhart. His publishing facilities and his home alike were devoted to the assistance of any and all, sometimes almost overwhelmed by the arrival of such large groups as the Alexanderwohl settlers. This work was shared by the Mennonite Board of Guardians, an organization for the direction of assistance to the new immigrants. Funk and Krehbiel were both very active on the board. The eastern Mennonites offered help with their own organization, and a Canadian

Committee led by Schantz helped those in the Manitoba migration. State and national government officials, together with dominion officials, gave assistance wherever possible, although political red tape hampered their participation. More directly active were the representatives of the railroads, which stood to profit considerably by the settlement of such good farmers on their open lands. They provided officials to work directly with the settlers, furnished cheap or free transportation, helped in land selection, and supplied, in many cases, large immigrant sheds for temporary accommodation until houses could be built.

The experience of the Alexanderwohl settlers north of Newton is typical, as they went about the process described in the case study of their migration. Wherever possible all the Mennonites bought large tracts of land in contiguous sections. This meant in the United States the filling in with individual purchases between the alternate sections owned by the railroads. In Canada extensive reserves, both eastern and western, could be obtained allowing exclusive possession from the start. In Kansas, where the Russian Mennonites concentrated, several important settlements were made. The first to arrive, from the Crimea, established Bruderthal, not far from Peabody and Marion Center. The Krimmer Brethren settled near present Hillsboro, with their leader Jacob Wiebe. In their case the leaders obtained twelve sections of railroad land, then sent back to Elkhart for their families. In early autumn they began to break the raw plain for their new village, called Gnadenau, placed on the center section of a pattern of railroad sections which located another Mennonite-held section at each corner of the center one. For the new settlers the era of the famous sod house of the Great Plains had arrived. In the absence of forests—and hence log cabins—and in the presence of fierce winds and blizzards the appropriate shelter was the ground-hugging triangular structure (we would probably call them A-frames today), shallowly excavated and provided with a roof which sloped from peak to ground. Such walls as it had were made of sod blocks.

In 1874 too some Swiss Volhynians settled in McPherson County, where they organized a congregation named Hoffnungsfeld. The poorest and least successful group were the other Volhynians, who came from Ostrog under Unruh. They came needy and remained that way. They arrived in midwinter without provisions, on a day when the thermometer read twelve below. When spring came they tried to operate forty-acre farms with inadequate equipment and of course failed. In fact most of them had not been farmers at all, but rather weavers and day laborers.

In Canada the chief goal was Manitoba. Large numbers of Mennonites

had in the early nineteenth century migrated from Pennsylvania to Ontario, partly as a result of the Revolutionary War. But the large movement to Manitoba was the result of the immigration of Russian Mennonites in the 1870's.³⁰ Those who chose Canada over the United States were for the most part the more conservative members—Mennonites from Chortitza villages, *Kleine Gemeinde*, and Krimmer Brethren. They welcomed the more explicit exemption from military service and especially the possibility of settling in large units in isolated communities where they had complete control of local affairs. The wide-open spaces of pioneer Manitoba and the land policy of the dominion and provincial governments made possible the reestablishment of the same type of self-sufficient and self-contained villages to which they had become accustomed in south Russia.

As a result the Mennonite communities in Manitoba developed a very ingrown and conservative culture, which successfully fought off all influences from the outside for decades. The old Russian one-street villages reappeared on the western plains, fifteen or more families bound together in a tight socioeconomic-religious unit, with their own schools and businesses. Some aspects of this culture became ossified, such as the practice of reading old sermons in manuscript in a singsong voice, the use of outmoded *Plattdeutsch* dialect, the singing of old hymns without harmony. On the other hand, the Canadian Mennonites were able, on account of their self-imposed isolation, to maintain without compromise with the "world" their ideals of pacifism and radical sharing, plain living, and hard work.

The Mennonites were not the only persecuted groups in Europe to move to the New World. Although the vast majority of immigrants came for political and especially for economic reasons, some, like the Saxon Lutherans of 1839–41, were religiously motivated. One churchman, Martin Stephen, found political and religious conditions intolerable and led a group of devout Lutherans to embark on a long voyage to New Orleans in 1839. They moved up the Mississippi River to St. Louis and finally settled in Perry County, Missouri. These "Stephenites" had in their leader a strong, domineering personality who ran his group on theocratic principles. Involved in this migration were 665 people.

Another movement came from Sweden, where the members of the free churches, especially the Baptists, fell under oppression by the state

³⁰ See J. Winfield Fretz, "Manitoba—A Mosaic of Mennonitism," *Mennonite Life*, XI (1956), 126–27, and E. K. Francis, *In Search of Utopia*. Many specialized monographs, some of them published in the traditional Low German—*Plattdeutsch*—have come from the small printing presses of the Canadian Mennonites.

church.³¹ The history of persecution in that Scandinavian land goes back to the *Konventikalplakat* of 1726, which forbade "conventicles" (private religious meetings outside the state church) and placed restrictions on the education of children by parents. Although religious liberty was established in the constitution of 1809, the old law remained in force until 1858. Various pietist groups arose, particularly under the preaching of the missionary-evangelist George Scott in the 1830's. Official restrictions and unofficial violence, including riots, made life difficult for Christians who did not conform to the state church. In 1853 the Baptist leader F. O. Nilsson was banished, and some of his followers migrated to America. At the same time in Sweden liberal politics became involved in the issue of religious liberty. Thus both political and religious influences were intermingled. One must be careful in identifying migrations from Sweden as religious refugee movements. Nevertheless, as George Stephenson concludes, "One cannot escape the conclusion that religion played an important rôle in stimulating the desire to emigrate."³² The forces devoted to maintaining conformity to the state church continued strong until 1858, when church members were given the right to hold religious services without their pastor. From then on the restrictions associated with a state church gradually loosened. But in the meantime sizable numbers of Swedes had left their homes to seek freedom of worship (as well as brighter economic opportunities) in America.

Closely related to the Mennonites in history and faith were the Hutterites. When the former were planning their great migration from Russia in 1873-74, the Hutterites were represented on the investigating committee and joined in the movement to America.³³ The first groups arrived in 1874 and made for Yankton, South Dakota, where their leaders had decided to settle. On the way, in Lincoln, Nebraska, they were detained by ambitious Nebraska land agents who sought to draw the settlement to their state. Only with difficulty on appeal to their friends in Yankton did the Hutterites obtain the release of their luggage for continuation of their trip.³⁴ Three original *bruderhofs* were established by these early pioneers: Bon Homme, near Yankton, on the Missouri River; Wolf Creek, on the lower James River; and, a couple of years later, Elm Spring, farther up the James. Each group bought several thousand acres of land, on which they planted a full-fledged *bruderhof*, the typical

³¹ See George M. Stephenson, *Religious Aspects of Swedish Immigration*.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 133.

³³ See Smith, *Story of the Mennonites*, p. 663; Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, pp. 161-62; John Horsch, *Hutterian Brethren, 1528-1931* and Rudolf Wolkan, *Die Hutterer*.

³⁴ Smith, *Coming of the Russian Mennonites*, p. 161.

communal society favored by the Hutterites. On these secluded preserves they maintained a tight communistic form of life in which almost all aspects came under the oversight of the leaders of the community and none had possessions of his own. Children were raised in communal schools, and cooking and other chores were accomplished in communal kitchens and dining rooms. Howsoever the Hutterites may have denied themselves many of the pleasures of the "world," at least they ate well! Altogether about one hundred families participated in these early beginnings. By 1942 there were fifty *bruderhofs* containing six thousand people. Virtually the entire expansion came from the growth and spread of about fifteen original European Hutterite families, as the extremely limited number of family names would indicate. One should note that only about half of the Hutterites who came to America actually settled in *bruderhofs*. After World War I many of them migrated to Canada, where they hoped to find greater toleration and understanding of their peculiar practices.

C. The Mormon Migration

Most refugee movements in the United States and Canada have had their origin outside the North American continent. Because of the distinctive factors which operated in the development of the New World, few refugee movements both began and ended there. One major exception is the experience of the American Indian, who was driven and harried across the breadth of the continent with almost total disregard of his indigenous basic right of possession. From one point of view the Indian became a refugee in his own land. But by no stretch of the imagination could he be described as a religious refugee. However important his story, and however fundamental the ethical questions associated with it, the American Indian lies outside the purview of this history. Something of the same judgment can be made regarding the other major racial minority, the Negroes, involved as they were in the toils of slavery.

One group, however, which had a special concern about the Indian because of the singular teachings of their sacred *Book of Mormon*, definitely belongs to this history. The members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints possess, as a unique part of their heritage, the experience of persecution, flight, migration to a new home, and refugee life, caused in large part by religious prejudice, and all of it within the confines of North America (except for the extension of the movement to include immigration from Europe, which was a missionary, not a refugee,

movement). The grand concept of the "Gathering" played a significant part in the westward migration of the Mormons, but its application to immigration has little to do with refugee history.

Western New York State, in the area of the Finger Lakes, at first sight is not a likely source for original, let alone influential, movements in American history. In the 1820's and 1830's it was still very much pioneer country, although the frontier had technically passed it by. But the people who lived there had spirit and energy to spare. Although they might be suspicious of new and strange ideas, if convinced there was no stopping them. They tended to go to extremes in their convictions as well as their actions. Consequently the land was a fruitful field for religious revivals, which were popular all over the frontier region. It became famous for the fervor and vigor of its religious life.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to discover the rise of a totally new movement, rooted in the Christian tradition but provided with unprecedented sources of revelation and authority. This was the homeland of Joseph Smith, founder of the Mormon church. He lived at Palmyra, some twelve miles north of Canandaigua. Here he had those remarkable visions which convinced him that he was the recipient of special direct revelations from the Most High God. The revelations were said to be conveyed on miraculous golden plates in a cryptic language which Smith was enabled to decipher by means of miraculous devices. The result of this experience was the *Book of Mormon*, published in 1830 (and many times thereafter). It consisted mainly of a long and detailed account of the origin of the American Indians in the migrations of the ancient Hebrew peoples. The Mormon church arose from its self-understanding as the recipient of a later and fuller revelation of God on the destiny of his chosen saints to be gathered together in the "latter days" before the Great Judgment. America, and particularly the place of gathering, took on central significance in the design of God for his people. This concept of the Gathering played a large role not only in the history of the Mormons but in their experience as religious refugees. Hence, although they were widely suspected of disloyal and "un-American" behavior, they gave expression, in terms of religious faith, to one of the principal features of the American variety of Manifest Destiny as expressed in the westward movement. The Mormons fit perfectly not only the spirit of the westward movement but also the concept of the promised land, the New Jerusalem.³⁵

³⁵ The best general study of the Mormons is Thomas F. O'Dea, *The Mormons*, one of the few books attempting an objective analysis of a topic about which objectivity is neither common nor easy. Other books useful for the study of Mormons as religious

The tiny beginnings of Smith's movement, activated when he published the *Book of Mormon* in 1830 and spread the word of his revelations, did not lead immediately to a surge of Mormon expansion. Indeed, it almost died in infancy as strong feelings arose over the claims set forth by the outspoken leader. Joseph Smith, however, was not one to quail before criticism and threats. When the situation became impossible in his home country, he led his small flock west into Ohio. With the help of a new recruit, Sidney Rigdon, a settlement was made at Kirtland, where the first permanent temple was built and the first Zion announced. Had it not been for the inexperienced and ill-advised financial enterprises and the panic of 1837, the early saints might possibly have weathered the storm of prejudice and opposition. As it turned out, however, Kirtland was only a way station on the road west to a more remote and more magnificent Zion. It was at Kirtland, nevertheless, that the small beginning became a significant movement. Within a year a thousand converts had gathered there, and construction of the temple was begun in 1833.

Already, in 1831, Smith, who had sent a missionary to preach to the Indians in Missouri and had visited the state himself, proclaimed this western place "the land of promise, and the place for the city of Zion."³⁶ The first specific location was near Independence in what is now Kansas City. Back in Kirtland Smith was tarred and feathered in March 1832, an experience which considerably reinforced the prophecy. For a while Kirtland remained the identified center of the church while plans for the future centered in Missouri. More and more the saints migrated to the new Zion west of the Mississippi River.

But as more and more saints came, higher and higher rose the unavoidable strains of prejudice and opposition. Smith and the early leaders did little to allay fears and misunderstanding. The very nature of the Mormon claim, which set the chosen saints over against the rest of the "gentile" world as the sole recipients of God's favorable revelation, could not be easily accepted in the West, where every man felt free to judge for himself and wanted "to be shown." There was the matter of the Mormons' apparent concern for the Indians. To a westerner who knew the Indian only as a pest and possible threat, an expression of interest in the welfare, either worldly or spiritual, of the red man would be met

refugees are Leonard J. Arrington, *Great Basin Kingdom*; Norman F. Furniss, *Mormon Conflict, 1850-1859*; LeRoy R. Hafen and Ann W. Hafen, *Handcarts to Zion*; Gustav O. Larson, *Prelude to the Kingdom*. The latter work is rather strongly influenced by official church policy. Useful for the aspect related to the westward movement is Ray Allen Billington, *Westward Expansion*.

³⁶ *Doctrine and Covenants of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints* (Salt Lake City, 1911), p. 572.

by stony rejection. Then there was the issue of slavery. These saints came for the most part from Yankeeland, and, whatever their tradition might have to say about the status of the Negro, they most certainly could not be counted among the proslavery population. And this was Missouri.

Given these inflammatory factors, the increase of Mormons in western Missouri was certain to cause trouble. When the leaders were tarred and feathered and the printing plant was destroyed, another move became necessary, this time simply northward across the Missouri River, where the saints hoped to find room to settle and expand. For a time Clay County became the center for a new Zion, which for some three years allowed a breathing spell. From this new settlement presently rose the Mormon community of Far West. Here gathered not only Smith, Rigdon, and the leaders, but the Mormons of Missouri, six hundred refugees from Kirtland, and new converts from England. The results of active missionary work in the British Isles brought a constant stream of immigrants, interrupted only by the repeated necessity of seeking a new Zion farther west.

In Far West the Mormons sought to protect their interests by ever closer organization. But the exclusiveness entailed by this tight organization caused even greater resentment among the more individualistic Missourians. A sort of private secret police among the Mormons was an underground group variously called Danites, Sons of Dan, Destroying or Avenging Angels, and Brothers of Gideon. They tried, by retaliation, to cut off attacks on Mormon settlements. But in this case fire bred more fire. In the crisis year 1838 a virtual state of war existed between saints and gentiles. The culmination of many raids was the massacre at Haun's Mill, 29 October, when members of the militia killed a large number of Mormons. Of thirty-eight men and boys, seventeen were left dead and fifteen wounded. The governor, Lilburn Boggs, was reported to have declared, "The Mormons must be treated as enemies and must be exterminated or driven from the state, if necessary, for the public good."³⁷

Under these impossible circumstances the Mormon leaders decided that further resistance was out of the question. They agreed to surrender themselves and arrange for their people to leave. During the hard migration eastward over the winter Brigham Young was the only leader who escaped imprisonment. He now demonstrated his superlative powers of organization and administration, and his indomitable spirit, as he gave courage to the despairing saints recrossing the Mississippi River into Illinois. Until Smith was able to come over in April, Young took care

³⁷ Furniss, p. 1; Billington, p. 535.

of providing food for some eight thousand Mormon travelers and ferries for the winter river crossing.³⁸ So it was that the wandering refugees, almost nomads, came to Nauvoo, which almost became the ultimate New Jerusalem—until Joseph Smith overreached himself again.

The inspired leader now began to buy land along the river north of Quincy. In 1840 the Illinois legislature, delighted in so vigorous and substantial an addition to the population, issued a charter for the organization of the city of Nauvoo which contained some unusual provisions. The new Mormon community became almost an autonomous city-state within Illinois. As Smith would have interpreted the charter, Illinois law had no effect in Nauvoo unless approved by the church leaders. The charter authorized the formation of what amounted to a private army, the Nauvoo Legion, and even countenanced its being armed with public equipment. Smith characteristically entitled himself lieutenant general and began to sport a flashy uniform. In a short while this private force had two thousand men.

There followed the efficient development of the new town in the manner demonstrated by the saints before. Only now the community was to be larger, more influential, more exempt from outside interference, more prosperous, and more dominant in the affairs of the state than ever before. It went as planned. A new temple was started. Nauvoo became widely known as the most prosperous and most influential city in Illinois. Smith realized that his block-voting followers could hold the balance in the party system and began to throw his weight around politically. Not content with secondary roles, he announced himself as a candidate for President of the United States.

All the while the Mormons, with the assistance of numerous revelations from their prophet, had been clarifying their identity as the saints of the Lord. By now their theology had become explicit as (1) professedly Christian, (2) specially revealed beyond Christianity through the revelations and teachings of Joseph Smith. Typical doctrines like the plurality of Gods, anticeationism, materialism (philosophic), and human deification had come to expression. A formal and impressive liturgy, some of it private behind the forbidden façade of the temple, was developing. A key doctrine of baptism, expressed through specific forms, including proxy baptisms for the dead, together with rites connected with entry into the priesthood, gave form to the teachings. A sociology based on the religious revelations was also taking shape. It was at Nauvoo that the Mormon leaders, in accordance with a revelation to

³⁸ Larson, p. 32.

Smith, began secretly the practice of polygamy; not until 1852, a thousand miles west, would this practice be openly announced. Nauvoo economically was an enterprise in planned society in which every aspect of business life was controlled by the leaders of the church, who were also the leaders of the city. The Mormon theocracy was coming to expression.

All this led to trouble with the outside world. As rumor fattened on rumor, wild tales exacerbated the hostility which resulted from opposition to known practices and beliefs. The state of Illinois began to have second thoughts about its ambitious state within a state. Especially the surrounding citizens in Carthage and Warsaw felt deeply threatened. Incidents of violence led to reprisals from the other side. In 1844 things blew up. A dissident faction among the Mormons had established a paper in Nauvoo, the *Expositor*. When it openly criticized the Mormon leadership and particularly Prophet Smith, the charismatic leader acted. The paper was closed down, and the printing plant was destroyed by the Mormon Legion. The victims took refuge among the gentiles and brought suit for damages. This was the situation which brought Joseph Smith, his brother Hyrum, and other Mormon leaders to jail in Carthage to await trial. On 27 June 1844 all but one were murdered in cold blood by a lynch mob.

Although an uneasy and deceptive calm followed briefly, it presaged the full story yet to come. Violence continued sporadically; "burnings" occurred mysteriously. The Mormons decided finally that the only way out was the old way—emigration, this time definitely to the west. While the work on the temple proceeded as an act of faith, the Mormons made their systematic preparations for departure. They planned to leave as early in the spring as possible. But this was not enough to satisfy their vindictive opponents, who could not wait. The area was on the verge of open war when, hurriedly, before the plans could be implemented, the first streams of Mormons fled the city, crossed the Mississippi River choked with winter ice, and began the wearisome trek toward a new and as yet undefined zion somewhere in the western wilderness.

In February sixteen hundred saints crossed the river to Sugar Grove, Missouri, and began arranging so far as possible for the migration to follow. The population of Nauvoo had risen to fifteen thousand persons, almost all of whom now had to pull up stakes, leave town, and go west in midwinter. The first part of the journey, across Iowa to the Missouri, took some four and a half months. It was at Council Bluffs, on the Missouri, that the famous Winter Quarters was constructed by the advance party. This became the base from which the Mormon trek to Utah began.

That summer estimates of Mormons gathered here ran from ten to fifteen thousand persons.

In the midst of everything was Brigham Young, harried almost beyond endurance by problems but really in his element. He it was more than any other who gave substance to the vision of Joseph Smith that the final Zion of the saints would be in the western wilderness. As early as 1842 Smith had given expression to this call to the West:

I prophesied that the Saints would continue to suffer much affliction and would be driven to the Rocky Mountains. Many would apostasize; others would be put to death by our persecutors, or lose their lives in consequence of exposure or disease; and some would live to go and assist in making settlements and building cities, and see the Saints become a mighty people in the midst of the Rocky Mountains.³⁹

The time was, for once, favorable. The western portions of the continent were as yet largely unoccupied, although not unclaimed. The Mexican War, fought among other reasons for control of the Southwest, was about to break. Explorations had brought understanding of the tremendous expanse and potential wealth of the mountain-girt lands. The Mormons did not miss the exciting tales brought back by the Frémont expedition. They knew of the travels of fur-trading Jedediah Smith and Jim Bridger. In fact, large portions of their reports were reprinted in their papers. The formation of the "Mormon Battalion" as a result of negotiations with President Polk not only gave the Mormons the means to send many young men west but brought in desperately needed funds at a time when many people had lost almost everything. This force made its way clear to San Diego, then back to Great Salt Lake (1846-47).

In Winter Quarters, 14 January 1846, Brigham Young gave out a new revelation which became the plan for emigration. It became a formal entry in the *Doctrine and Covenants* (Sec. 136).

The word and the will of the Lord concerning the Camp of Israel in their journeyings to the West: Let all the people of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter-day Saints, and those who journey with them be organized into companies with a covenant and a promise to keep all the commandments and statutes of the Lord our God. Let the companies be organized with captains of hundreds, captains of fifties, and captains of tens, with a president and his two counsellors at their head under the direction of the Twelve Apostles. And this shall be our covenant that they will walk in all the ordinances of the Lord.

³⁹ Quoted from Smith's diary in Arrington, p. 39.

Let each company provide themselves with all the teams, wagons, provisions, clothing and other necessities for the journey that they can. When the companies are organized let them go to with their might to prepare for those who are to tarry.

When the companies with their captains and presidents decide how many can go next spring, then choose out a sufficient number of able bodied and expert men to take teams, seeds, farming utensils, to go as pioneers to prepare for putting in spring crops.

Let each company bear an equal proportion, according to the dividend of their property, in taking the poor and widows and fatherless and the families of those who have gone into the army, that the cries of the widows and the fatherless come not up into the ears of the Lord against this people.

Let each company prepare houses, and fields for raising grain, for those who are to remain behind this season. . . .

Let every man use all his influence and property to remove this people to the place where the Lord shall locate a Stake of Zion.

And if ye do this with a pure heart, in all faithfulness, ye shall be blessed; you shall be blessed in your flocks, and in your herds, and in your fields, and in your houses, and in your families.⁴⁰

In accordance with these detailed instructions the people were divided into companies of one hundred with a captain over each. All were given careful instruction on the best methods of travel over the plains and on dangers to be avoided. On 7 April 1847 the first party left Winter Quarters for the long trip to Salt Lake. The exact location of the New Jerusalem was as yet undetermined, although favor now rested on the Great Basin rather than on California. Almost 150 persons, mostly young men, together with Brigham Young, were in this first contingent, which planned to mark the way, prepare facilities for those to follow, and locate the destination. A new trail was marked along the north side of the Platte River, separated from the Oregon pioneers—many of them rowdy Missourians—by the river. In Wyoming the route went west through South Pass and the fort Jim Bridger had built. On 7 July the fur trader and the new prophet came face to face. Bridger did what he could to discourage the Mormons from continuing to the region of Salt Lake, probably not altogether from altruistic motives. On 24 July, arriving a little behind the rest of the group on account of illness, Brigham Young looked with the rest through the pass down into the broad basin of Great Salt Lake and uttered the famous words "This is the place." From then on, 24 July would be "Pioneer Day" for the Mormons, and

⁴⁰ Quoted in Larson, pp. 66-67. The preceding 135 sections of this authoritative work came from the revelations of Joseph Smith.

Emigration Pass in the Wasatch Mountains would be a historic landmark.

On his way back to Winter Quarters that fall Brigham Young passed a large group on its way west, 1,540 persons. These, together with the first advance party and the returnees of the Mormon Legion, constituted the first year's population in the new Jerusalem of the Great Basin. The next summer, 1848, Young led another group, 2,417 people. Within ten years ninety-five Mormon communities had sprung up in what would be the state of Utah, with a few scattered farther along the Mormon Corridor to the Pacific, which theoretically reached all the way to San Diego.

Like their fellow pioneers in the covered wagons along the Oregon Trail the Mormons traveled in wagon trains organized in military fashion. But the saints were more accustomed to obedience to the authority set over them, which had the advantage of direct religious sanction. The discipline of the Mormon trains to Salt Lake, and the careful advance planning and prearranged supply depots and grain crops, had no parallel in the westward movement in America. The companies consisted of a balanced proportion of people, equipment, and livestock. One typical train carried 476 people in 105 wagons, accompanied by 743 cattle, 19 horses, and 273 sheep.⁴¹ They knew all about ordered march on the route and encircled camps at night. Although the journey was not easy for anyone, it was incomparably better than the harried flights to which the Mormons had become almost accustomed. These early journeys were accomplished by wagon train, with some of the travelers walking. The famous handcarts came later.

In their new homeland the Mormons found plenty to challenge their skill and teamwork. Few regions would appear at first sight more barren and undesirable than the flats of the desert around Great Salt Lake. But this kind of challenge was just what was needed to bring out the vigorous response characteristic of the followers of Joseph Smith. Whatever one may think of their peculiar beliefs, whatever judgments one may pass on their social and political pretensions, one must admire the courage, the determination, and the frankly cooperative spirit with which these people went about making livable homes in an inhospitable environment. More nearly than most Christians they brought into actuality the promise that the desert should bloom like a rose. Everything was arranged by the church leaders (the only leaders there were in the early years). One group immediately set about digging a preliminary irrigation canal for

⁴¹ Larson, p. 69.

watering a few acres of tilled land. Another company sited the temple and began to plat the city. Another began building the fort and twenty-nine log cabins inside. This project required still another group to drag down from the mountains timber for the construction, and another to build a road, and another to set up a sawmill. Religious services for a time were held in the "Bowery," so called because the first structure was made of brush and boughs. Ideally all needs of the Mormon community should be met within the isolated society now coming into being in the mountains. The saints could now hope to live and develop completely free of connection with or dependence on the gentiles.

We do not intend [said Brigham Young] to have any trade or commerce with the gentile world, for so long as we buy of them we are in a degree dependent upon them. The Kingdom of God cannot rise independent of the gentile nations until we produce, manufacture, and make every article of use, convenience, or necessity among our own people. We shall have Elders abroad among the nations, and until we can obtain and collect the raw material for our manufactures it will be their business to gather in such things as are, or may be, needed. So we shall need no commerce with the nations. I am determined to cut every thread of this kind and live free and independent, untrammelled by any of their detestable customs and practices.⁴²

The story of the development of the "Great Basin Kingdom," as ably portrayed in the major economic history of Leonard Arrington under that title, is an amazing record of the effects of disciplined, obedient cooperation among settlers in a frontier environment. It is closely reminiscent of the similar disciplined, obedient cooperation practiced by the Pilgrim settlers on New England's rockbound coast in 1620 and 1630. Not only did both groups face hostile surroundings but they were both bound together under strong religious motivation.

That first winter, like many first winters among pioneer people before, was hard. Food ran short, and the promise of the future was not yet apparent. In the spring came the first discouraging visitation of black crickets, which almost wiped out the first crop. In the midst of everything the Quorum of the Twelve Apostles and the Council of Fifty organized for the common welfare. If individual freedom was curtailed, individual initiative was not. Basic studies were made, and plans were formulated for the development of natural resources, public works, and water—especially water. A whole new concept of water use had to be thought out, quite different from the concepts which had sensibly governed the

⁴² Arrington, pp. 46-47, quoting remarks made on 28 July 1847.

principles of English common law. The need for water was so great and so universal in this arid region that it simply could not be diverted independently to personal use, nor could it be returned undiminished to the original stream, as with the old millrace. It was needed for the nurture of the all-important crops, which would soak it up and never render it back again. The Mormons had to work out their own philosophy, principles, and law of water use in terms of an economy almost totally dependent on irrigation. First the church, then the territorial government, and finally the state in established irrigation districts and authorities spelled out the new relation men must have to the available water supply. As Arrington writes in summary,

Yet, Mormon economic institutions *were* unique in the contemporary American West. To be sure, there was the same hunger, the same improvisation, the same struggle for success, as in all Western settlements. But the unity, homogeneity, joint action, and group planning all stamped the Mormon frontier as unique—as a contrast with the scattered, specialized, exploitive, “wide open” mining, cattle, lumber, and homestead frontiers with which historians have familiarized us.⁴³

Quite early Young envisioned an impressive western empire which should become an autonomous state within the United States, the state of “Deseret,” whose borders would have included not only Utah but also Nevada, most of Arizona, southern California, and sizable portions of Oregon, Idaho, Wyoming, Colorado, and New Mexico. Understandably the federal government refused to sanction this state born full-grown in Mormon dream. Instead a territory was established in 1850, which became effective in 1851, much reduced in size although including considerably more space than the later state of Utah. Thus, as O’Dea puts it, “The period of open theocratic rule . . . now gave way to its masked expression.”⁴⁴ For several years it remained difficult to distinguish between ecclesiastical government and territorial government. Titles and offices differed, but the same people seemed to occupy both places. Brigham Young himself became for a time the first governor. Unseemly squabbles between the leaders of the church and the few gentile governmental officials (Washington-appointed all) became frequent. Finally, of course, the whole controversy broke out in the vicious Mormon War of the late 1850’s. The Civil War postponed the establishment of Utah as a state, and conflict long continued.

In the meantime Mormons flocked to the Gathering Place of Zion,

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 62.

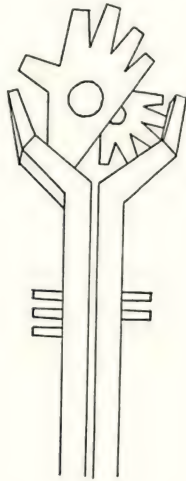
⁴⁴ O’Dea, p. 98.

drawn mainly from European immigrants who had been converted by the enthusiastic Mormon missionary enterprises in England, Scandinavia, and Germany. Before the end of the century ninety thousand fresh recruits had come from Europe. Most had been aided by the Perpetual Emigrating Fund, established in 1849. In the 1850's they arrived over the plains in the famous handcart companies; two-wheeled carts were drawn by sheer manpower hundreds of miles over the plains and through the mountains from the Missouri River to Salt Lake. After 1867 the immigrants traveled mostly by railroad, first part of the way, finally all the way.

Thus came into being a society whose ramifications run far beyond a history of religious refugees. Indubitably, however, that is how the whole thing started. No one can explain the rise of the Mormon empire in the West without reference to the small beginnings in which the saints fought against persecution and great odds and fled repeatedly from the threat of extermination to seek a refuge in the open lands of America. They operated in effect under two tremendous forces of motivation: (1) the force pushing from behind, the pressure of persecution, and (2) the force drawing forward, the magnet of the Gathering Place of Zion, that concept which fitted so well the spirit of the westward movement, which made of the Mormon enterprise at once the most characteristic and the most unique expression of all that is meant by the pregnant word "West." What Joseph Smith had prophesied in 1830 when he revealed the Lord "had called to bring to pass the gathering of mine elect . . . unto one place upon the face of the land" came to full realization where the western desert was made to bloom. Yet this special place, this exclusive and remote Zion, was also a symbol of all of vast America itself, from ancient times designated by the Lord as his Promised Land to which all the faithful would eventually be drawn. This was the power of Mormonism. It was also its painful chronic tension. It was also at least one aspect of this peculiar faith which even gentiles, at least those gentiles who had also caught a glimpse of the western sun, could understand.

Part IV

FROM ROVING REFUGEES TO MIGRATING MASSES



Monument in Concrete, Refugee Center, Taipei, Taiwan

Chapter 29

Age of Disruption

The century of the homeless man.

Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*

A. The Novelty of the Twentieth Century

We move to the study of refugees in the twentieth century by means of an essay on life in the "century of the homeless man." Even from the midst of contemporary confusion this century emerges as an era of almost universal violence and widespread disruption of long-standing forms of society and culture. Not simply *two* "world" wars, but unending regional outbreaks—Balkan wars, Chinese civil wars, Italian conquest of Ethiopia, Spanish civil war, Japanese war against China, Palestinian war, Chinese civil war (1945–50), Korean war, Vietnam war (French), Algerian struggle, Hungarian revolution, Tibetan conquest, Vietnam war (United States), Chinese civil war, Israeli-Arab war; there is no end in sight. Age-old political forces have disappeared, gone like the ghost of the Holy Roman Empire, to be replaced by new totalitarianisms designed for survival in a violent world. The harvest of the wars of the twentieth century keeps coming in, a bitter harvest beginning with millions of dead soldiers and civilians. The death of men has been accompanied by the death of social forms and customs some of which were rooted in antiquity. Democracy and freedom, cherished bequests of the old world of our fathers, are well-nigh smothered under the pressures of life. The disruption has reached down and down until it is seen frighteningly in all art forms—in painting, drama, poetry, the novel, music—and in religion as well. Wagner's *Götterdämmerung* is insignif-

icant in contrast to the contemporary "death of man." The very fabric of history's thousand-year web of time is tearing apart.

Yet this same twentieth century witnesses an amazing acceleration of technical mastery of his environment by man. After the discovery of fire and the invention of the wheel nothing much happened until the industrial revolution provided the means for developing the modern factory. Although the world of Napoleon was incredibly larger than that of Hannibal, Napoleon was forced to use much the same methods of transportation across the Alps. Then, with the twentieth century came a veritable explosion. Within the space of five decades major breakthroughs piled on one another, spurred by the challenges of war. Most of the theoretical knowledge was already at hand—the quantum theory in 1900, the fateful $e=mc^2$ in 1904. But technical discoveries opened vast avenues of development undreamed of even by those who were closest to the theoretical principles. Wireless—Ford—Kitty Hawk—Telefunken—vacuum tub—Model T—open hearth—Niels Bohr—RCA—Karel Capek, *R.U.R.*—assembly line—Lindbergh—proton, neutron—electron microscope—radar—plutonium—TV—rocket—radio astronomy—jet—the Bomb—automation. . . . Only a beginning. By two-thirds-century it has become a witches' brew indeed, potent for great good and great evil, but potent.

One generation of men could witness all this as adult observers. They could feel the total impact of new forces their fathers rarely even imagined. A man fifty years old in 1950 is farther removed from the "ancient" Victorian than was the latter from his truly ancient progenitors. It is a different world, almost instantaneously born in one human generation. Many centuries were required to cut the world in size from years to months. In the twentieth century it has shrunk from months to days, and in the last decade to hours. The moon is within reach and the planets are no longer mysterious orbs. The power of Hercules, once legendary, now is harnessed.

Thus man in this his most lively century has nearly won mastery of the physical environment at the moment of his greatest peril. He has marshaled the forces of nature and fallen victim to his own nature. He has, in Tennyson's words, "sailed beyond the sunset and the baths of all the western stars," only to lose his home base as the intellectual and social structures built over centuries collapse around him. He has become like a god, but mourns the death of God.

Signs of these feats and failures abound. The blessings of art and culture have been made available to all through universal education, radio, and television. But art and culture have come to a dead end of

non-art and barbarism: music for the millions amid the screeching of nationalities; drama that strives for—nothing; narcissistic poetry; painting, once the abode of beauty and symmetry, and always at least form, now formless, designedly anarchic. The heritage of the past is being thrown away at the very moment it might have become the heritage of all men, not only the privileged few. Scientists who gloried in the breakthrough in atomic physics shudder in awe at the power so thunderously unleashed; scientists on the frontiers of knowledge are among the most insecure of men. Was Churchill the last statesman-in-command? Are the new nations gasping for breath, struggling for life, only to share in universal destruction? The awakening of Asia and the awakening of Africa cannot possibly follow the same sequence as the awakenings of Europe and America. The United Nations may die in the travail of so many progeny.

Furthermore, the twentieth century struggles through a tremendous social revolution, marked by the sharp pains of racial conflict and desegregation, the ominous specter of Marxist communism, and the promise and threat of automation. The dissolution of the British Empire is symbolic of the end of white domination. Yellow and brown and black aspire not so much to obliteration of color as to a new and more virulent racism. Lenin dreamed long ago of a revolution in which “the whole of society will have become a single office and a single factory with equality of work and equality of pay”¹—a new Jerusalem or a nightmare? The process of the twentieth-century revolution is a process of dehumanization.

This process is clearly discerned in automation, which holds for our time the same significance that the industrial revolution did for the nineteenth century. If the feasibility developed from the discoveries of science, the need arose from the pressures of industry and population. When Norbert Wiener wrote his provocative *Cybernetics: Or, Control and Communication in the Animal and the Machine* in 1948, the movement was just getting under way. The automotive assembly line was an adumbration of a new industrial revolution to come. Automation really began with the application of “feedback control” to the assembly line. This meant the replacement of human operators by machines capable of operation, maintenance, and correction of error in the manufacturing machines over which they exercised control. The next step was the development of complex digital computers which replaced human effort in the more mechanical and repetitive aspects of calculation and de-

¹ Quoted in Friedrich A. Hayek, *Road to Serfdom*, p. 119.

cision. The combination of these two steps in the equivalent of a "pay-choneuromuscular" system marks a third step.² A master-tape-controlled machine operates a series of automatic fabricating machines by means of a properly programmed digital calculator. It may be true that computers are "giant morons, not giant brains," but normal infants and infantile morons have much in common, and the technique of programming is still in infancy. When the computers begin to write their own programs, what then?

Already the results are coming in, although a trend is not yet clear. Forty thousand human operators have been replaced by automatic elevators in New York City alone. Not all of these individuals have found new work in the manufacture or maintenance of automatic elevators. Obviously many manual operations requiring muscular exertion will be performed by durable machines. Cities already abound in automatic laundries and automatic vending machines. How long before people become used to service without human participation? Personal services may become a thing of the past.³ A vending machine is only a robot that doesn't bother to act human. Moreover, there is nothing to prevent the development of tape-controlled machines for the diagnosis of disease and the interpretation of the law. Even the "profession" of scientist will be affected by the establishment of automatic scientific information devices capable of replacing many costly teams in research.

Thus wars and revolutions have conspired with science and techniques to bring about a radical and violent change in the fortunes of the human race, a change marked both by tremendous and rapid growth and by extensive and fierce destruction. Life in this age is exciting because it survives in a furious thunderstorm. All these forces seem to conspire to wipe out the humanity of man, at least if humanity be defined in terms of individual personality. Totalitarian or no, the world is moving in the direction of dehumanization, of the obliteration of the individual in the mass, of the submergence of the spirit in the lump. The outward forces find their parallel in inward attitudes and motivations. No mere coincidence is the view of the French artist and critic Apollinaire, who died in 1918: "Artists are above all men who want to become inhuman." In the same vein Jean Arp said that in modern art man was no longer the measure of all things, but rather all men were to be "like nature,

² See J. F. Reintjes, "The Intellectual Foundations of Automation," and Arthur L. Samuel, "Artificial Intelligence: A Frontier of Automation," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Mar. 1962, pp. 1-9, 10-20.

³ See Donald N. Michael, *Cybernation: The Silent Conquest*.

without measure." Dadaism represents one of several parallels to the contemporary drama of the absurd.

Inherent in this cultural anarchy is philosophical anarchism. One man who has had deep insight into this intellectual disease of modern man is Nicholas Berdyaev. In his writings, especially *The Fate of Man in the Modern World*, he develops the theme that the inevitable result of humanism as a philosophy is dehumanization. At the same time that medical science is close to eliminating pain and reducing suffering, violence and sadism thrive in all forms of artistic and literary expression, from the James Bond of novels and television to the self-immolation of professed pacifists. Dickens, Balzac, and Tolstoy were no less concerned with humanity—but what a contrast to Proust, Huxley, and Gide! Affronted by the miasmatic depths of human degradation and the stifling atmosphere of the absurd and meaningless, one is moved to cry out with Goethe, *Hinaus ins Freie!*

B. Global Migration

This little essay on the quality of life in mid-twentieth century is only an introduction to the vast migrations of these decades. Although the nineteenth century witnessed impressive migrations of people who voluntarily chose to seek a new opportunity in a new world, rarely have such masses of humanity been driven into exile against their will. Among the many problems of population is that of forced migration, of which the twentieth century provides almost innumerable examples. Thirty million people were displaced in Europe alone during World War II. Such latter-day movements belong in the context of international migrations in history.

Men have exhibited six different types of migratory movements. In early and primitive societies nomadism was a permanent mode of life, so dominant as to prevent any thought of settlement. Also in early times relatively large masses of nomadic peoples invaded new regions, where they displaced the inhabitants, if any. Invasion means the mass movement of people into new territories, as against selective conquest by armies and commercial agents. The barbarian invasions of Europe are thus different from the Spanish conquest in the New World. Especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and especially in the New World a fourth type of migration was free immigration of individuals. They may have moved under economic and perhaps political pressure, but they made their own decision. Such movements were different in character and

effect from those typical of the twentieth century, forced migrations of large masses, under direct political or military exigency. In most cases economic considerations have played a secondary role.

It is with the last form of migration that this section of our story is concerned. These compulsory movements are largely one result of the many forces of contemporary history which have just been discussed. They are part of the violence, part of the irrationality, part of the de-humanization. Wars, dictatorships, new nationalisms—all have contributed to the swelling of the tides of human migration over the face of the earth. Among these masses small groups have continued to move as refugees of the spirit, true *Glaubensflüchtlinge*. Generally they have been lost in the mass, insignificant exceptions. Now and then specific groups could be isolated and identified, as the Old Believers in their long journey from Siberia through China and Hong Kong to Brazil, or the Mennonites in their endless wanderings. But for the most part the history of religious refugees in the twentieth century must be studied in the context of the great forced migrations caused by political and military disruption. For that reason we shall here be mainly concerned with people who cannot properly be defined as religious refugees. Rather, the religious factor will enter principally at two points: the involvement of religious agencies, especially the Christian churches, in service to refugees of all kinds, and the selective study of such refugees as demonstrate a religious factor in their motivation. Both points of interest are practically inseparable from the larger story of mass migration.

Writings on refugee movements have habitually distinguished national (or intranational) movements from international movements. At the points of responsibility for care and authority for control this distinction is important. India has both responsibility and authority over Indian refugees in India. Only if sizable numbers of Indians migrate overseas, either voluntarily or under pressure, does an international problem arise. International organizations may participate in the care of Indian refugees in India only if India so desires. *Only* international organizations may effectively deal with international refugees. This is not to say that individual nations may not act directly with regard to specific bodies of refugees who happen to approach or cross their borders. The United States takes direct responsibility for Cuban refugees in Florida. But the complex nature of international relations in the twentieth century and the rapid improvement of facilities for international travel require that most movements of refugees be dealt with on an international basis. Thus the United Nations and the International Labor Office, together with numerous special bodies raised from time to time, such as the Inter-

national Refugee Organization (IRO), have participated routinely in regulation and assistance.

On the other hand, for the purposes of this history the distinction between national and international movements is of little significance. Refugees are refugees, whether or not they cross a border. They are just as needy and may even face equally difficult language barriers. For the same reasons the legal distinctions made between refugees who come under the mandate of the High Commissioner for Refugees of the United Nations (UNHCR) and those who do not, between Germans and non-Germans fleeing from eastern Europe, between escapees and forced exiles, do not play so important a part here as they do in political accounts of the work of the various agencies concerned. These are all factors to be taken into account, but they do not determine our degree of concern.

For our purposes the story begins with the consequences of World War I. The military operations of that war were so sluggish that little movement of people resulted directly from the fighting. But afterward the political disruptions associated with the collapse of the Austrian and Ottoman empires brought on the first classic migrations. The massive exchange of Greeks and Turks, accompanied with force and violence, is the most important. For the first time an international organization—the Nansen Commission—dealt directly with the problem of international refugees. On the other side of the world the Chinese, hounded by famine, migrated in large numbers north into Manchuria and south into southeast Asia. Much of this migration, however, remained within the enormous borders of China itself.

A new set of pressures developed with the rise of the totalitarian dictatorships in Russia, Italy, and Germany, and with the expansion of the Japanese Empire into China after 1937. “White” Russians fled from Soviet persecution; German liberals and Jews fled from Nazi nationalist and racist pressures; hordes of Chinese were uprooted by military and economic forces. These movements were merely a prelude to the immense disruptions of World War II, a ghastly compound of battlefield explosions, forced labor, mass deportations, and calculated extermination. During this time thirty million persons were involved in Europe alone.⁴ The millions of Chinese who fled to the interior or moved north or south can never be counted.

After the war many of the same forces of persecution and exploitation continued unabated, and new forces appeared in ever-varying combina-

⁴ Most figures in this section are from Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, *International Migrations*, and Anthony T. Bouscaren, *International Migrations Since 1945*.

tions. Immediately after the war in Europe vast movements of people accompanied the reshuffling of borders, especially in east central regions as Russian power spread westward over the Baltic States, Poland, east Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and the Balkans. A mass deportation of Germans took place. For a variety of reasons in which politics, economics, and religion played a part, usually in that order, thousands of persons fled to western countries. From time to time new outbreaks, such as the Hungarian revolution of 1956-57, replenished the flow of refugees.

In the rest of the world, but especially Asia, the situation was the same, although for different reasons and with different results. The partition of India in 1947-48 was attended with mass deportations and mass flights of Hindus from Pakistan to India and of Moslems from India to Pakistan—movements measured, as always with population on that huge subcontinent, in the millions. For years Jews had been trickling into Palestine under shelter of the famous Balfour Declaration of 1917 on a national home for the Jews. The gigantic plan of the Nazis for the extermination of the Jews, together with the upheavals of war generally, drove large numbers out of their traditional homes, especially in central and eastern Europe, to seek refuge in what they hoped was a new nation. This nascent nation of refugees, in turn, drove millions of Arabs north and south and east, to make room for Israel. The expellees became the permanent charge of the United Nations, which is still feeding them and their descendants. In the Far East Hong Kong became the chief center for congregation of one and one-half million refugees from mainland China, most of them victims of the struggle between the Nationalists and Communists until the latter's victory in 1950. But also to Hong Kong flocked an amazing flotsam and jetsam, some all the way from Europe via Siberia and Manchuria. The compact crown colony was nearly overwhelmed by hordes of newcomers. Two million Chinese became refugees on Taiwan (Formosa) upon the collapse of Nationalist authority on the mainland. Quite independent were the parallel migrations of North Koreans to South Korea and of North Vietnamese to South Vietnam during the respective wars fought in the shadow of Chinese might. A special and most interesting group is the thirty thousand Tibetan refugees in India and Nepal.

In recent years the acute aspects of refugee movements have shifted to Africa, the latest continent to harbor mass movements of people under pressure. In North Africa for several years Algeria was the scene of a power struggle between France and Algerian nationalists, resulting in the displacement of almost a quarter-million people, most of them to neighboring Tunisia and Morocco. Farther south the rapid appearance of

new nations has brought on a new series of refugee movements, well illustrated by affairs in the Congo basin, which show signs of growing more numerous as time goes on. They are so new that they cannot yet be properly measured against the longer-standing movements of Europe and Asia. The most recent is Nigeria-Biafra.

Moreover, there is the almost universal dispersion of refugees in re-settlement programs around the world. Every continent has received significant numbers of these outcasts. Most of the nations have found a place, under or outside of traditional immigration laws, for homeless wanderers. In this process the voluntary agencies of the Christian churches have been most active. The story of refugees in the twentieth century has become a global story. Australia has taken the largest number in proportion to her population. The United States has taken in (1965) 750,000 refugees in addition to the regular immigration quotas.

In comparative summary the accompanying chart illustrates the size of the refugee problem around the world.

<i>Area of Asylum</i>	<i>1964</i>	<i>1965</i>	<i>1968</i>
East Asia	2,592,231	3,020,500	2,150,500
Southeast Asia	3,239,692	4,339,526	5,142,800
Middle East	1,231,546	1,301,879	1,714,001
Africa (North)	151,612	2,700	599,727
Africa (sub-Sahara)	327,700	695,820	4,462,260
Europe	105,415	169,197	950,419
Western Hemisphere	262,113	261,077	2,207,208

The figures bear little relation to the numbers of refugees formally listed and settled in camps. They also do not take into account the vast dislocations occasioned by holocausts or acute economic distress in such countries as China. One estimate reported some fifty million Chinese refugees in China itself in 1951.⁵

Eventually the problem of refugees in the world of the twentieth century involves the problems of migration generally. The churches recognized this fact in calling a Migration Conference, which was held in Leysin, Vaud, Switzerland, 11-16 June 1961, with some two hundred delegates in attendance. The meeting looked at all aspects of migration, within countries and from one country to another, movements both voluntary and involuntary, permanent and temporary, Christian and

⁵ Foreign Policy Association, as reported in *Christian Century*, 7 Feb. 1951, pp. 163-64. Statistics from USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1965-66, 1969*.

non-Christian.⁶ Behind migration lies the overall problem of population, perhaps the fundamental problem of life in this era. The portentous acceleration in the rate of increase in the number of people who live on earth, which in terms of transportation and communication is getting smaller and smaller as the population gets larger and larger, will force the churches to an even broader perspective.⁷ It would not be true to say that migration necessarily results from pressures of population. But the two are closely related. Problems of population, in fact, lie behind most of mankind's major worries today. Part of the context, therefore, of a history of refugees is the level and trend of population—especially in the twentieth century. If the number of people is increasing at the rate of sixty-five million per year, this says something for the forces which lead to migration. A "Provisional Report on World Population, as Assessed in 1963," published by the United Nations, estimated three billion people in 1960 and projects between 5.3 and 6.8 billion in 2000. But if the 1960 rates continue, the population in 2000 will be 7.4 billion. China alone will grow from 648 million in 1960 to 917 million in 1980 and 1,210 million in 2000. Economic factors play a large part in the movements of people, even though the immediate occasions may be political. A direct connection exists between refugee movements in Asia and the facts that Japan, through legalized abortions and birth control, has cut the birth rate 50 percent and that in the last ten years India has set up some two thousand birth control clinics. Population is an immediate pressure affecting patterns of migration in Asia. It is not nearly so important a factor in Africa, a land relatively lightly peopled. Levels of subsistence, limited both by availability of arable land and by techniques of production, also affect these patterns.

As we turn to refugee movements in contemporary times, we recall that this story is to be seen as the context for the central theme of religious, especially Christian, refugees. There are several specific points of contact. Clearly some of the movements of Christian refugees have continued to the present day: the Mennonites, the Old Believers, and the Seventh Day Adventists in eastern Europe; the victims of persecution by the dictators, of whatever stripe. Totalitarianism of any kind is alien to the Christian spirit, as it is also alien to Jewish monotheism. The rollback of Christian missions in some regions has created a sort of Christian refugee movement.

⁶ See report in *Ecumenical Review*, XIV (1961-62), 110-11. See also report of the conference, WCC, *In a Strange Land*, which contains some of the addresses made, statements, and recommendations.

⁷ Among the many recent books one of the most generally useful is *The Population Dilemma* (published for the American Assembly, Columbia University, in 1963). See also *Migration Today*, Mar. 1965, p. 30, and UN provisional report, 1963.

Although these specific instances are not large in terms of number of people involved, they also are characteristic of the times. In the second place, the voluntary agencies of the churches, as well as Jewish agencies, have for decades been concerned with relief and resettlement. Many prominent churchmen, such as Arthur Foster in Vienna and Margaret Jaboor and Edgar Chandler in Geneva, have made a career of service to refugees as a Christian calling. The voluntary agencies, most of them church related, have played an indispensable part in assisting the more cumbersome governmental agencies. They have brought a personal touch of concern to the frequently impersonal official activities. And they have brought especially a Christian concern for individuals into a situation in which individuals are easily lost in the mass.

In the third place, the Christian church comes into contact with the refugee in the area of religious liberty. This is partly a matter of getting Christians themselves to get along without persecuting one another. In this sense the story is only a continuation of an ancient and unhappy one which reaches back to the earliest times. Cain it was who killed Abel. Christians spurned Origen as a heretic, and Christians expelled the Arians. Roman Catholic Christians established the Inquisition, Orthodox Christians drove out the Old Believers, Calvinists executed Servetus. Unfortunately the issue of religious liberty within the Christian family is still alive. More important for the twentieth century, however, is the issue as related to the threats posed by various totalitarian enterprises which claim the total allegiance of the individual. Fascism and Falangism could not go too far in this direction, but Nazism and communism were not so inhibited. Religious persecution, which merges indistinguishably in political persecution, was the result. In traditionally non-Christian countries such as Japan and in some of the thoroughly secularized new nations of Asia and Africa religious persecution easily developed in the atmosphere of revolution, fear, and insecurity. Even the relatively democratic countries, such as the United Kingdom, France, the United States, and Canada, have faced problems of recalcitrant religious minorities. Religious issues, therefore, have had a significant, although not a central, part in the refugee movements of our times.

One final word is very important. In the twentieth century the concepts of "religious" and "secular" have changed. It is no longer easy to separate the sacred from the secular. Religion is widely and properly understood as including many secular dimensions. And many secular movements, such as the various totalitarian developments, are clearly religious in their implications. We must recognize that in a twentieth-

century sense fascism, Nazism, and communism—to say nothing of rampant forms of nationalism—are religious in their claims on the ultimate loyalties of men. Victims of these oppressive regimes, therefore, are not only “political” or “secular” but also “religious.” The secular struggles of the contemporary world are struggles for the souls of men.

Chapter 30

World War I and the Aftermath

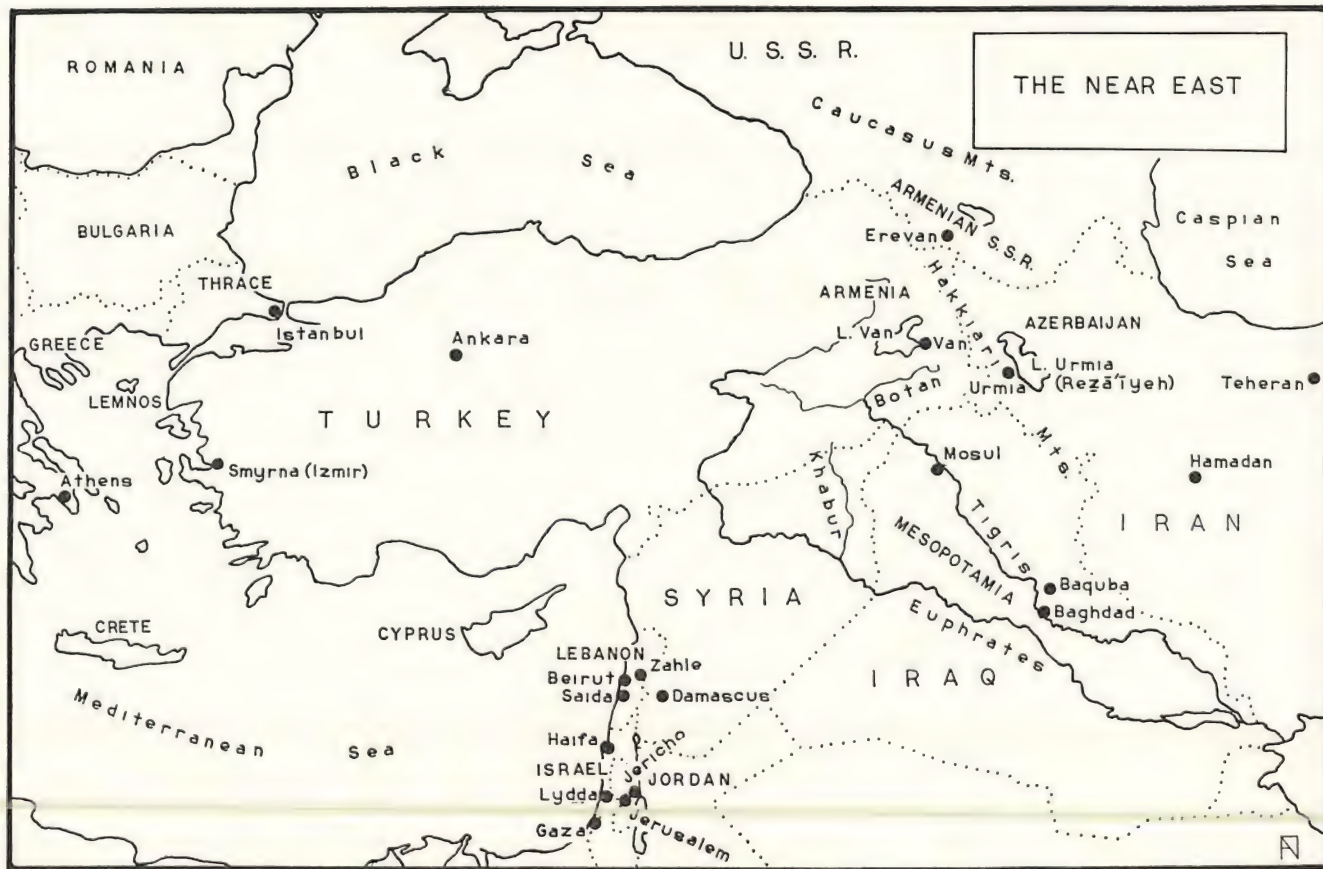
Even before the end of the nineteenth century occasional outbreaks of violence disproved the commonly held belief that every day in every way the world was getting better and better. Anyone who bothered to notice what was happening to the Armenians in the eastern Ottoman Empire would have been appalled at this most recent evidence of man's sinful inhumanity. Many such thunderings reverberated distantly but threateningly on the horizon before the twentieth century broke with a crash of arms and violence unparalleled in world history. Already, however, religious and political factors are so interchangeably mingled together that it becomes a problem to discern where the one leaves off and the other begins. From this point on, the theme of this book must be staged on a broader field, as a hard-to-distinguish aspect of the mass movements of modern times caused in large part by political forces. Several quite independent movements took place. They are best discussed in sequence.¹

A. Greeks and Turks

From the outbreak of war in the Balkans until 1923 Greece was continuously in struggle for survival and independence. An inevitable result was a flow of refugees from and to neighboring countries.² In the case of

¹ The classic work, and the chief source for this chapter, is John Hope Simpson, *Refugee Problem*. An entire issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 203 (1939), is devoted to this problem. Several League of Nations and Nansen Office publications cover various aspects.

² The chief monograph on the Greek movements is Charles B. Eddy, *Greece and the Greek Refugees*.



all three principal parties—Greece, Turkey, and Bulgaria—two factors facilitated the relatively complete and final exchange and settlement: (1) distinct minority status of victims in their respective countries and (2) reception in countries with common ethnic, linguistic, cultural, and political ties. A third factor which played a large part in the Ottoman Empire was the cultural segregation of minorities in the “millet” system.³ This meant the separation of minority groups along frankly religious lines into corporative bodies possessed of considerable autonomy and local authority. For long the Ottomans had granted toleration to religious minorities, including a good deal of freedom to run their own affairs, so long as they did not proselyte among Moslems, engage in subversive activity, or fail to pay the large tribute demanded for such privileges. In this way the Eastern Orthodox Greeks retained a strong sense of identity in language, religion, and culture, as did the Armenians in the eastern section.

A most complicated series of migrations was forced by the flow and ebb of the fortunes of war. Several times thousands of Greeks were driven from Macedonia and Thrace, only to return on the heels of a military victory or a political reversal. Frequently they were forced out again, perhaps even returned a second time before they were permanently expelled. The largest movements of Greeks were 40,000 from western (Bulgarian) Thrace into Macedonia in 1913–14, 100,000 Thracians and Greeks from Asia Minor to Macedonia in 1914, 140,000 to Thrace from Macedonia in 1918, 55,000 from south Russia during the Revolution, over 700,000 from Asia Minor after the Smyrna disaster, and 150,000 from Turkey to Greece in the forced exchange. In September 1922 Greece suffered a terrible defeat near Smyrna on the coast. As a result a huge mass of terrified refugees poured tumultuously into Greece and the islands of the Aegean, fleeing before the very real terror of Turkish persecution. The country was totally unprepared to care for these sudden exiles, most of whom arrived destitute on ships and tiny boats. Thousands died before anything could be done. The rest were kept alive by emergency action of the American Red Cross and the (also American) Near East Relief. Altogether over the whole period about 1,300,000 Greeks fled to the homeland. The last group, those of 1924, were expelled in the forced exchange.

What was this exchange? Whence the idea? No one person was responsible. The Greeks, together with the British High Commissioner in Constantinople and Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the League of Nations High

³ Discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 25–28.

Commissioner for Refugees, favored a plan for exchange of citizens between Greece and Turkey. But the Turks insisted that, if this were to take place effectively, the process must be obligatory on all. The basis for determination of eligibility for migration was, curiously, religion. Moslems in Greece went to Turkey; Orthodox in Turkey went to Greece. Greek Orthodox Turks in Turkey and Moslem Greeks in Greece were, willy-nilly, forced to move.⁴ But the Turks did not expel Greek Roman Catholics and Protestants, and Christian Turks continued to live in Greece. Does this make these people religious refugees? Not quite. Here, as almost always in the twentieth century, religion had become a nationalistic symbol. Insofar as the refugees did not try to escape by sudden conversion, they may be regarded as religiously motivated. Again the religious factor becomes almost inseparable from the political.

When it was all over, the whole Greek nation had been changed. Population figures reveal the outward cover for a tremendous drama. In 1920 about 80 percent were Greeks, while 14 percent were Turks. In 1928 almost 94 percent were Greeks, only 1½ percent Turks. So great an increase of inhabitants created a problem far beyond the capacity of still struggling and always poor Greece. Only massive international help, in personnel and funds, enabled the little country to absorb the newcomers.

In Asia Minor lay Turkey, the remnant of the once mighty Ottoman Empire. Nationalism had destroyed the old empire, but it became the creative element of the new Turkey under Kemal Ataturk. The forces of nationalism brought on the bitter conflict between the two countries, which glowered at each other over the narrow water barrier geographically separating Europe from Asia. Only in Constantinople and surrounding Thrace did Turkey keep a foothold in Europe as a sort of memorial to the great days of Mohammed II and Suleiman, whose impressive fortress still stands on the west shore of the Bosphorus. Athens and Istanbul are still worlds apart, as they have been ever since 1453. The Byzantine Empire, along with the modern Ottoman Empire, the ancient Roman Empire, and the still ancient and entirely ephemeral empire of Alexander, managed to bring Europe and Asia, however incompletely, together in one commonwealth.

Long history therefore lay behind the nationalistic conflict between Greece and Turkey. During the first world war, which brought to an end the old Turkish Empire, a half-million Turks were forced to move from conquered or liberated portions to Asia Minor. Then, in the forced exchange, 388,000 Turks crossed paths with Greeks traveling in the op-

⁴ Simpson, p. 15.

posite direction. These people were more easily settled and assimilated partly because of the availability of suitable land (much of it abandoned by the fleeing Greeks and simply confiscated by the Turks) and partly because of the relative wealth and strength of Turkey. The newcomers naturally were settled heavily along the coastal regions formerly inhabited by Greeks. In 1923 a Ministry of Reconstruction, Exchange, and Settlement was established with extensive powers, and next year it became a Department of Settlement in the Ministry of the Interior. The Turkish movements were therefore much more orderly than the Greek, and not accompanied with such suffering and fear. The Turks won an unenviable reputation in these years for their cold-blooded massacres of Greeks and Armenians.

Exchanges also took place between Greece and Bulgaria.⁵

Some of the Greek refugees of 1922–24 were still living in camps at the end of the 1950's. But finally the government was coming close to resettling permanently these long-term camp dwellers.⁶ Squatter slums were giving way to public housing like the unit dedicated in 1962 in Athens, providing housing for 2,620 families. When I visited Athens in the autumn of 1965, most of the camp dwellers of original Greek origin had been resettled.

B. Armenians

Armenians have already figured in this account as the founders of a medieval kingdom of refuge in the area between Russia and Persia in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Now once again in the twentieth century they have become a refugee people. Estimates of the Armenian population of the old Ottoman Empire and Caucasus are not very accurate, but about four million people belonged to this ethnic group at the end of the first world war. About 85 percent of them were Christians of the Armenian, or Gregorian, church which dissented from the definitions of Chalcedon. Of the remainder, 10 percent were Roman Catholic and 5 percent Protestant.⁷ Theirs had been a long and a sad history, a history of frustrated nationalism, permanent minority status, and religious persecution. But they had survived the upheavals of empire and revolu-

⁵ On Bulgarians, information is in a MS by John D. Easton, "A Study of the Refugee Problems in Greece," filed in WCC office, 1 Sophocles St., viewed through courtesy of Wallace Bell, senior representative, WCC.

⁶ *Integration*, VIII (1961), article by Walter S. Kirkpatrick; USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10, p. 11.

⁷ Jacques Vernant, *Refugee in the Post-War World*, p. 57.

tion in the Middle East and continued to live in the northeast Ottoman Empire, the southern Caucasus of Russia, and the province of Azerbaijan in northwest Persia. In the Ottoman Empire, under the millet system, they were supposed to enjoy rights of religion and culture. In spite of such guarantees, however, Turkish prejudice was so virulent that bloody massacres took place during the last decade of the nineteenth and the first of the twentieth centuries. Frances Willard worked with Armenians in Marseilles in 1896 and served as vice-president of the Armenian Relief Committee, which resettled refugees in the United States. The outbreak of World War I gave the Turkish government the opportunity to engage in a systematic program of elimination of a minority long hated and now suspected of being subversive. In community after community the men were assembled and sent off to exile—or sometimes massacred—the women and children gathered and deported.⁸ During 1915 a terrible story unfolded as thousands upon thousands were summarily dispatched into the Syrian desert and Mesopotamia. In a few towns, such as Van, the Turks met resistance. But the rest went into exile, which in too many cases meant simply death. Of the 600,000 who were sent to Mesopotamia in 1915, about 90,000 survived. Curiously, Roman Catholic and Protestant Armenians were not subjected to the intense hatred and violence visited upon the Gregorian Armenians because the Turks generally considered that a Catholic or Protestant Armenian was not an Armenian. This attitude corresponded to the religious definitions applied to Greeks and Turks in the postwar exchanges.

When the Russians occupied parts of eastern Turkey, many Armenians returned to their homes—only to be deported anew when the Russians withdrew. At the end of the war Armenia was definitely divided with the establishment of Erivan, which subsequently became one of the Transcaucasian Soviet republics. With the withdrawal of British troops from eastern Turkey in 1920, 30,000 Armenians were killed by the Turks. When the French departed also, 80,000 Armenians were forced to leave to Syria and other countries. Further, when the Greeks were defeated and expelled from western Turkey, 100,000 Armenians had to leave Smyrna and other regions, going to Greece, Bulgaria, and Constantinople, as well as to Syria and the Caucasus. All property of the deportees was confiscated. Altogether, during and after the war perhaps a million Armenians were massacred. Survivors mostly fled the country or were officially deported. Rough estimates suggested that around 200,000 remained in Turkey, many of them “converts” to Islam; 250,000 to 400,000

⁸ Simpson devotes a chapter to the Armenians, pp. 29–46, and gives sources, especially in note 2, p. 31. See also Mary Earhart, *Frances Willard*, pp. 336–37.

took refuge in Transcaucasia; and 200,000 fled to Syria, Iraq, etc. Of the latter refugees, almost a third were in the Near East, another third in the Balkans, about a fifth in France. The rest were scattered in other European countries. By the 1930's half were in the Near East and a quarter in France (110,000 and 63,000 respectively). Another estimate gave a total of 320,000, which agrees with Dr. Nansen's estimate. Most of the difficulty with these figures derives from the differing definitions of refugees. Technically those who had acquired a new nationality were no longer considered refugees.

Such relief as was available during the war came from the United States, which technically was not at war with Turkey. Especially were thousands of orphaned children cared for in orphanages in and out of Turkey. The Armenian Relief Committee (later American Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief) saved countless lives. It is estimated that altogether about 132,000 children (!) were saved, most of them orphans. After it came into being, the League of Nations took a direct interest in help for women and children. This included the difficult task of rescuing Armenian girls from Turkish homes.⁹ Through the League many refugees who were living in Constantinople (Turkish but in somewhat different international status) were enabled to migrate to America.

Between 1926 and 1936 a project was developed by Nansen in cooperation with the Soviet government of Erivan to help several thousand persons migrate to that republic in the U.S.S.R. These were added to the 400,000 who had moved under persecution during and right after the war and to over 13,000 who had come in the early 1920's. The planned migration failed for lack of funds, but groups migrated sporadically from various countries, totaling in the decade over 15,000 people. This movement was small contrasted to the migration sponsored by the U.S.S.R. after World War II, when between 60,000 and 80,000 Armenians moved from Greece, Lebanon, Syria, Egypt, France, and other countries to the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic. Prohibited from leaving were 30,000 other Armenians who wanted to migrate from Turkey and had so indicated. This is a characteristic very general in instances of persecution. The persecutor is torn between desires to get rid of the victim and to prevent his leaving. Our narrative has given many illustrations of groups ordered to leave a country and then being harassed or even blocked at the border. In this case Turkey, which had used brutality to drive out her Armenians, now forbade them to depart.¹⁰

The rest of the Armenian diaspora remained in scattered exile. In

⁹ Simpson, p. 35 and note 1. Simpson does not resolve conflicting estimates.

¹⁰ Vernant, p. 57.

the mid-twenties between 100,000 and 125,000 were residing in Syria and Lebanon. Most of them gradually became Syrian or Lebanese citizens. Still, 40,000 remained in need of help. *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reported 102,000 in Syria in 1943 and 111,000 in 1953. In Greece 25,000 of the original 45,000 remained, the rest having migrated to Erivan and other countries. A remnant of these refugees is still in dependency in Greece today, although most have reestablished themselves.¹¹ Since many of the Armenians have migrated overseas, especially to the United States, they are another worldwide diaspora without a homeland—unless they are willing to accept the Soviet system which prevails in the Armenian S.S.R. Most of the non-Soviet Armenians are anti-Communist.

C. Assyrians

Another tragic and even more melodramatic flight was that of the people called Assyrians with some justification. Tenuously they trace their ancestry back to the Semitic empire of the days of Sennacherib in Nineveh. They were indeed a Semitic people whose language was Syriac. They were descended, in part at least, from remnants of the Ninevites who had scattered north into the mountains. In the little-known region shared today by Turkey, Iran, and Iraq they survived centuries of massive invasion and conquest, an inconsequential eddy of history virtually unnoticed by the rest of the world. Some were located in the upper Tigris Valley, north of Mosul in Iraq, and in the Botan Valley in Turkey. Others were living in western Azerbaijan in Iran, west of Lake Urmia. The third group, the most important, consisted of independent mountain tribes in the Hakkari Mountains between Iran and Turkey-Iraq. They occupied land in which lived also equally primitive Kurdish tribesmen, with whom they fought regularly. The latter were Aryan, not Semitic.

Another distinguishing feature of the Assyrians was their Christian faith. Most of them were descendants of the ancient Nestorians, looking to their patriarch, the Mar Shimun, for spiritual (and therefore in this part of the world political) leadership. Smaller numbers were "Chaldean" Uniates in communion with Rome. Although there were altogether about 150,000 Assyrians in all groups, the 40,000 tribesmen of the Hakkari Mountains were most directly involved in the migrations discussed here.

The troubles began early in the first world war, when the Assyrians

¹¹ Conversation with Wallace Bell in Athens, 27 Sept. 1965, revealed that some thousands of Armenians still need help although, unlike the Assyrian refugees in Greece, they respond well to resettlement.

threw in their lot with the Russians, who proved undependable allies in this backwater of the war.¹² They advanced in 1914 to Urmia (Rezaieh) but shortly retreated northward. Ten thousand Assyrians were forced to leave their homes and move north with the Russians. The Russians returned the next year but did not provide help for the forty thousand Assyrians cut off in the high mountains, where they were abandoned. With amazing determination, however, they escaped the rigors of winter, avoided contact with powerful enemy forces, and broke through to Urmia, somewhat to the embarrassment of the Russians.¹³ After the collapse of the Russian war effort in 1917 these and other people, numbering about seventy thousand, were forced to leave Azerbaijan altogether. They began a desperate retreat southward toward British forces in Mesopotamia. On the way they were attacked by Kurds, by Turks, and by Persians. One-third of their number was lost. A miserable fifty thousand straggled into Hamadan, west of Teheran, where the British had penetrated. Most were soon transferred west again across the border to the vicinity of Baghdad. There, in a refugee camp at Baquba, thirty thousand were settled into typical camp life, at first under military control. There they began to demonstrate a natural gift for "refugee mentality." More than others under similar circumstances they developed habits of complaint, bitter recriminations even against their benefactors, rigid determination to return to seek revenge, apathy, and disinclination to engage in any form of creative labor, especially physical. Over against this display must be set the terrible facts of suffering over a long period of time, accompanied by repeated betrayal.

After the war some of the groups returned to their homes and resettled. But the hardy mountain tribes could not return. Some were settled in northern Iraq. Some of the young men entered the military forces maintained under the British mandate. The two most important tribes actually made their way back to their mountains in the hope they could stay. But when the boundary was finally drawn so as to include this land in Turkish territory, their position was again untenable; they were driven out. In the early thirties, when the British gave up their mandated authority and Iraq became independent, the League of Nations was made responsible for the care of minorities. In the meantime about six thousand Assyrians, one way or another, had gone across into French-mandated Syria. Others settled in Lebanon. Some moved into Greece, and even farther. The situation in 1938 was, as nearly as can be de-

¹² Besides the excellent chapter in Simpson, pp. 47-61, see the thorough monograph by a British military officer, R. S. Stafford, *Tragedy of the Assyrians*.

¹³ Simpson, p. 49; Stafford, pp. 28-29.

terminated, as follows: In Iraq were 50,000 Assyrians, of whom 8,000 were Nestorians, 30,000 Chaldeans, 10,000 Jacobites, and 2,000 Syriacs. In Syria were 34,000, of whom 9,000 were Nestorians, 5,000 Chaldeans, 10,000 Jacobites, and 10,000 Syriacs.¹⁴ The Mar Shimun, however, estimates larger numbers of Nestorians. How many were left relatively undisturbed in Iran is not known. It was reported that 15,000 went to Syria between 1924 and 1938.¹⁵ *Encyclopaedia Britannica* reported 9,000 in Syria in 1943 and 11,000 in 1953. The League of Nations helped construct a settlement along the Khabur River in northern Syria. Lebanon has about 13,000, although these were not all refugees. Two communities have been provided, one near Beirut, the other at Zahle. Greece received about 300, who are still there and still in poverty-stricken degradation. All in all, the story of these rejected people does no credit to any of the countries involved. And, if the Assyrians themselves have developed some of the less admirable qualities of refugee mentality, they at least can claim some basis for complaint. As so frequently in the Middle East, their experience bears a strong religious slant. They were a small Christian minority in the midst of a strongly nationalist Moslem world. Whether this is interpreted as a religious manifestation or a political one depends entirely on how you look at it.

Both Assyrians and Armenians raise the serious question of the relevance of Christian institutions to the world in which they exist. Unless the Christian faith be regarded as totally inconsequential, the fact that these minorities are *Christian* minorities, and therefore *Christian* refugees, must be taken into account. However moribund the present state of faith, in terms of origin and cause, these movements belong in a history of religious refugees.

D. Russians

The fate of the non-Communist Russians at the time of the Revolution of 1917 and the subsequent civil war is an adumbration of the great upheavals associated with totalitarianism in the twentieth century. It is the second of the two revolutions, the Bolshevik, which is of importance here. It was the first and also the most profound and enduring challenge to Western civilization. As such the topic goes considerably beyond the scope of this history and need not be told in detail. It remains, however, the indispensable background for understanding of one of the major

¹⁴ Simpson, p. 59, from French sources.

¹⁵ Vernant, p. 428.

movements. The actual exodus of Russians came not immediately after the Bolshevik take-over but rather as a result of subsequent development: the defeat of the White armies, the military collapse in the world war, the famine of 1921, and the end in Siberia. The emigration, therefore, covered the years 1918–22 and involved people of all parts of Russia, of all classes, and of all political persuasions except the Bolshevik. Although the movement was mainly politically motivated, the economic pressure of famine and the intellectual force of religious persecution must not be overlooked. The movements within the huge empire were military or related to the military struggle and need not detain us. By 1915 there were three and three-quarter million refugees in Russia. In general the Soviets pushed out from their early center of power in Moscow (which now replaces imperial St. Petersburg) in all directions toward the frontiers. The centrifugal force thus released drove the opponents farther and farther toward the edges of Russia and eventually across the borders or into the sea. By 1922 the establishment of Soviet control was well-nigh complete, even in Siberia. The former military operations of General Denikin in the south and Admiral Kolchak in the east became refugee movements after defeats, and eventually mass movements out of Russia.

This mass flight occurred in three geographical directions—south, west, and east.¹⁶ The way out from the south lay through Constantinople, the key to the Black Sea and the Ukraine. Throughout 1920 defeated White Russian armies were evacuated by ship to and through Constantinople. Thus once again this ancient city became the seat of international operations. A central information office for registration of Russian refugees was set up there. It became a center for the work of the Nansen Commission. The narrow congested streets which poured down to the Golden Horn were full of Russian-speaking émigrés—even though most of them were quickly moved on to other settlements, like the notorious Gallipoli concentration, or to other European countries. Still about 35,000 Russian refugees were living in camps in and around the colorful crowded city and wandering through its tortuous streets. Over 26,000 were being cared for, after a fashion, at Gallipoli; another 16,000 were on Lemnos. Nearly 200,000 people fled from Soviet Russia to or through present-day Istanbul. The largest single group was made up of the soldiers under General Wrangel, who wished to keep his army together for future operations. Thus he resisted efforts to disperse the concentration around the Turkish city. Under pressure from both France and Great Britain, which had, whether they liked it or not, considerable responsibility for

¹⁶ A useful summary is Tatiana Schaufuss, "The White Russian Refugees," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Vol. 203 (1939), 45–54.

this end result of what had been intended as a counterrevolutionary military movement, the refugees were divided into smaller groups and resettled. Some went to other European countries, some were repatriated to Soviet Russia, some journeyed to Brazil and the United States. Many individuals made plans of their own.

The 35,000 in Constantinople were being fed in 1922 by the American Red Cross, which took care of the civilians, and by the French government, which still accepted responsibility for the military. Evacuations carried out by the High Commissioner for Refugees of the League of Nations (then Sir Samuel Hoare) reduced the Russian refugee population of the city next year to less than 13,000. Most of them had been resettled in Bulgaria, the United States, Yugoslavia, and France, in that order. Jews went partly to Palestine but to other countries as well. In 1924 there were still about 8,000 left.

Through Constantinople and by other routes 50,000 Russians fled to Yugoslavia, 36,000 to Bulgaria, and a large but uncertain number to France. Greece, overwhelmed with refugee problems of her own, had 5,000 Russians, most of them hospital cases.

Another major stream moved westward and northwestward toward the Baltic and Poland. This movement was both larger and longer lasting than the southern. A total of 31,000 people came to Finland, especially after the collapse of attempted counterrevolutionary activities at Kronstadt and so forth. They also poured into the three Baltic nations, all of which were later swallowed up in Greater Russia. For the time being the governments of the little nations, which had to live side by side with the surging colossus on the east, were forced to care as best they could for refugees whose very presence was threatening. As to Poland, clear figures are not available because the movement was so large, the country was so disorganized, and so many were transients seeking to settle farther west. Estimates ran as high as 650,000, although these cannot be accounted for in terms of organized or recorded group movements. Jews were about 30 percent of the total. Romania received 95,000 Russian refugees, mainly Jewish. Many of these were probably people displaced from Bessarabia during the war. Others were Ukrainians. The Russian Red Cross reported only 5,000 Russian refugees in Romania in 1921. Part of the difficulty in measuring the refugee movement in the west was the inmixture of returning war prisoners.

A more complicated exodus, and more prolonged, passed through the at that time still undeveloped reaches of Siberia all the way to the Pacific Ocean, to Manchuria, and to China. Although the Trans-Siberian

Railway was in operation, it was as often the scene of death as a door to escape. Many were the "death trains." About 30,000 refugees reached the Far East, according to the Russian Red Cross, two-thirds of them in Manchuria, 6,000 in other parts of China, and 4,000 on the Pacific coast. This was in 1921, when some military operations were still going on.¹⁷ The refugees were dispersed along the Chinese Eastern Railway in Manchuria, in Gensan, a Korean port, in the cities of Mukden, Harbin, Tientsin, and Shanghai, and in parts of Turkestan and Mongolia. Obviously these fugitives were far from home in an extremely strange environment. Questions of adjustment and assimilation were especially difficult under the circumstances. Many people remained in a refugee status for years, eventually found their way to Shanghai, and were evacuated to Hong Kong, where we meet them years later in the throng of Hong Kong refugees—still refugees! Some later retraced their hard steps back into Russia. Others settled in America. In 1922 there were in the Far East about 60,000 to 70,000 altogether, and by the next year there were 80,000 to 90,000. Finally a total of around 150,000 found their way to the Orient. This may be compared with the 200,000 who escaped from south Russia, mainly via Constantinople, and the still larger numbers who journeyed overland into central and western Europe. Nansen reported one and a half million Russian refugees in Europe in 1922. Within a decade this number had been greatly diminished, owing to deaths of the older people and to repatriations and emigrations. Many also simply settled down as naturalized citizens and technically ceased to be refugees.

Specific movements of extremely dramatic nature took place. For example, Admiral Stark carried on his fleet two thousand seamen, some cadets, and two thousand civilians. They were forbidden to disembark in Gensan, although they were provided with food and fuel. They had the same experience in Shanghai, except that two cadet corps were landed. Not until the flotilla reached Manila was real assistance made available. From there, with the help of the United States, two thousand persons were transported to San Francisco. About half eventually settled in Australia. Almost unbelievably, then, the tentacles of the original movement engendered around Moscow in 1917 reached out farther and farther, not only westward into the rest of Europe, but in the opposite direction across the vast regions of Asia to China, to Hong Kong, even to the western shores of the United States and to Australia!

Many different groups and classes were represented, but special atten-

¹⁷ These figures are taken from the detailed analysis in Simpson, pp. 68 ff., and from Schaufuss.

tion should be drawn to the large number (proportionately) of intellectuals, who subsequently found great difficulty in finding work for self-support. Particularly important in terms of Russian culture, and for the purposes of this book, were the religious émigrés, the large number of devout Russian Orthodox. The shock of disaster to the state church was serious. But the compensating stimulation of the experience of flight and freedom is obvious in much of Russian church life today in the exile communities. As formerly in the struggles against the Tartars of the Middle Ages, the church became a center of devotion and loyalty to all that Russians cherished. The Orthodox Theological Institute in Paris, led for many years by Sergius Bulgakov; the independent thinker Nicholas Berdyaev; and lively activity of Russian Orthodox leaders in some of the upper levels of theological discussion in America—these are examples of how a church can survive the traumatic experience of disruption of its whole organization and life. It has not gone without the organization; it has replaced the old with a new. Unwittingly and unwillingly this church, in many ways isolated from other forms of Christian life in the West and almost ossified in Russia, has been thrown into painful but always stimulating contacts of many kinds. To this extent surely the Russian exile must be seen as religiously motivated and inspired. The Russian exiles did not leave Russia because they wished to worship freely. But they found in the unasked-for freedom of the West a new invigoration for their faith and came more fully to understand how much that faith meant to them. Once again the church which unhappily finds itself an exile on earth demonstrates the hidden sources of power which bring it back to its real home in the kingdom of God. Once this discovery led to monastic otherworldliness. It need not. Perhaps here is another point of extreme importance in a history of religious refugees.

Simpson in his standard work speaks of "stabilization" of the situation (in 1938). After secondary movements to France and rather small resettlements in the Americas, it appeared that the Russian was becoming a useful minority in many a European country. Even in the Far East, as the refugees tended to congregate in Shanghai with the irruption of the Japanese-Chinese war in 1937, there were hopes for better days. No one could know, of course, that all these latter refugees, settled and unsettled, would shortly be caught up in one of the greatest forced mass migrations of history. The age of the dictators had already dawned but had not yet cast its terrible glare of power and violence that was to make the twentieth century the age of the refugee. Armenians and Greeks and Turks and Assyrians—all were shortly involved in the tremendous dis-

ruptions of the cancerous expansion of the Greater Third Reich through the very center of Europe and the even more powerful disruptions of World War II. Ironically both Simpson's study and the refugee issue of the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* were published the same year Adolf Hitler invaded Poland.



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Chapter 31

Victims of Totalitarianism

*I*n the thirties the Western world was living in a dream, a dream that was partly a nightmare. The nice part was the memory of how the world had been before the Great Depression, maybe even before the first world war. The other part had to do with Lenin, Mussolini, Hitler, and the Japanese. Most people did the natural thing—cherished the memory as if it were still real and tried to ignore the nightmare. Those supreme realists (until they began prating about the classless society) the Russian Soviets knew how to distinguish the dream from the truth and how to face up to the nightmare. But they were biding their time. In the West some people began to speak out against the almost unprecedented totalitarian challenges, and books appeared on the market. There were Sinclair Lewis' *It Can't Happen Here* and Dorothy Thompson's *Refugees, Anarchy or Organization*, the passionate *March of Fascism* by G. A. Borghese, the somber *Winter in April* by Robert Nathan, the sophisticated but intense *Escape to Life* by Erika and Klaus Mann. President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the United States and gadfly Winston Churchill in Great Britain rang the political changes on the "gathering storm." The French continued to play their traditional role of offering asylum to the rest of Europe, although with increasing uneasiness over the new threats outside and the press of refugees inside—from Italy, from Germany, from Spain. Englishmen and Americans were beginning to worry about the threat to employment posed by foreign newcomers. (Articles in newspapers and benevolent publications replied with explanations of how refugees *created jobs*.¹) Coupled with this fear was widespread concern about

¹ See, for example, *Refugee Facts*, published by American Friends Service Committee, esp. pp. 14–22.

large-scale immigration. Immigration in the United States was actually down, not up, but prevailing attitudes were not likely to be based on facts, and nothing was quite real. The Japanese changed all that in the Orient in 1937. And Hitler changed it definitively in Poland in 1939. Finally the Western world faced up to the twentieth century—the century not so much of the common man as of the homeless man, the refugee. The dream, except for a deluded few, was gone forever. The nightmare persevered.

A. Response to the Need

Christian concern for the poor and distressed, as we have seen, goes back to the beginning. The Red Cross, a more or less secularized voluntary agency with Christian antecedents, is over a hundred years old. The new aspect of the twentieth century is the tremendous growth of service agencies, both private and public, and their complex but efficient organization. Something of this is apparent in the early refugee movements discussed in the previous chapter. It was, once again, Adolf Hitler who contributed more, if not to the service, at least to the need for such agencies and such organization. The decade before World War II witnessed the development of many different groups concerned with the refugee problem. These built, on the one hand, on the ancient foundations for social concern among Christians and Jews, and, on the other, on the pioneer work of Dr. Fridtjof Nansen, the Norwegian adventurer whose greatest adventure was the Office of the High Commissioner for Refugees. The Office was established in 1921 by the League of Nations in response to a request from the International Committee of the Red Cross.² A few years later the responsibility for finding employment for refugees was transferred to the International Labor Organization (ILO). When Dr. Nansen died in 1930, another organization was set up, composed of representatives of the League of Nations, the ILO, and various voluntary agencies. It was called the Nansen Office in memory of the famous pioneer. Already, however, typical frustrations of bureaucracy complicated affairs. The League Secretariat retained control of legal problems and political negotiations, while the Nansen Office concentrated on material relief. By 1933 this plan was unsuitable, so the lines were redrawn to provide for a League of Nations High Commissioner for Refugees Coming from Germany. The Nazis opposed giving this job to the Nansen Office. Things went smoothly—until the refugees began pour-

² See UNHCR, *Forty Years of International Assistance to Refugees*.

ing out of Austria, and then Czechoslovakia. The problem was something like that of the venerable English periodical which, in 1900, imperceptibly changed its name to *The Nineteenth Century and After*. Until 1938 the two commissioners tried to pretend that the spectacle of two separate agencies really made sense. Then the Nansen Office and the High Commissioner's Office merged.

In the same year, however, when the full import of the Nazi threat began to sink in, President Roosevelt assembled an international conference of thirty-two governments at Évian in France. Out of this meeting came the Intergovernmental Committee for Refugees (IGCR), with headquarters in London. The agency was supposed to take up where the mandate of the High Commissioner left off, to negotiate with governments for the resettlement of refugees anywhere in the world. Here, for the first time, was a full-fledged enterprise in planned migration, a process which came to fruition with IRO after the war. The war itself spawned the United Nations Rehabilitation and Relief Administration (UNRRA), which, along with the military occupation authority, carried the burden of immediate postwar repatriation and resettlement. Besides these international bodies, most of the Western nations had their own departments or agencies. Voluntary groups, including those of the churches, sprang up everywhere. Some began on the spur of the moment to snatch a few unfortunate sufferers to safety before it was too late. These were the years of "too little too late"; Hitler was always one jump ahead. In the United States in 1940 the following were the most important: the American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee; the American Committee for Christian German Refugees; the American Friends Service Committee; the American Jewish Congress; the Committee for Catholic Refugees from Germany; the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced Foreign Physicians; the Emergency Committee in Aid of Displaced German Scholars; the German Jewish Children's Aid, Inc.; the Hebrew Sheltering and Immigration Aid Society of America; the International Migration Service; the International Student Service; the Musicians' Emergency Fund, Inc. Attempting to bring the diverse groups together was the National Coordinating Committee for Aid to Refugees and Emigrants Coming from Germany. Obviously organizers had not yet learned their responsibility to provide suitable alphabet agencies!

B. Fascism and Nazism

After the Bolsheviks, the earliest totalitarian of between-the-wars vintage was Benito Mussolini, who began his official public career, to the

delight at least of the political cartoonists, in 1922. From then on the flamboyant jutting jaw was a more precise symbol of the new fascism than the official classic fasces. Because large communities of Italians live in many countries, especially the Romance lands of Europe, the problem of identifying refugees among ordinary migrants is particularly difficult. Relatively few Italians actually became refugees. Some left the country early, after the murder of Matteotti in 1924. More fled illegally during a period of repression in the late 1920's. Passports were hard to get, and a new crime, "abusive emigration," was defined. Then, with the outbreak of the Spanish Civil War in 1936, a renewed movement took place as many liberal Italians sought to participate in the Spanish struggle. The favorite land of refuge was France, where 9,500 were listed in 1937.³ They were all members of dissident political parties outlawed by the totalitarian one-party principle.

Presently Hitler's forelock overshadowed Mussolini's chin, as the Nazi Third Reich spread blood-red over central Europe. The enthusiastic but relatively easygoing dictatorship in Italy, tempered by the Latin humanistic spirit and by Roman Catholicism, became an uneasy partner in adventures devised in Berlin, not Rome. Upon the occasion of the advent to power of the National Socialist party (the Nazis) in 1933, a stream of refugees began to trickle, then pour, out of Germany. This stream was in turn mingled with the sad multitudes displaced by the violence of war after 1939.

I remember vividly the coming of some fugitive scholars to Yale University. They arrived almost literally penniless, some with, others without their families. The war was not yet, but the terror was. Some were Jews, others pure "Aryan" but politically unacceptable. One had been a judge in a German labor court; another the editor of the *Frankfurter Zeitung*, which had been outstanding in its liberal opposition to the Nazi program; another a mature artist; another a philosopher; another a scholar from Czechoslovakia. One tragic characteristic of the Nazi persecution was the flight of many highly educated intellectuals and many highly competent specialists. Most of these people were not able to find work of comparable quality in their new homes, at least not for many years. The outbreak of war only doubled the tensions and worries, especially of those whose families were divided.

The exodus from Germany followed a pattern of flow and ebb in the years before the war. One group, about 50,000 strong, came at the beginning in 1933. Two years later a special group came into France from the

³ John Hope Simpson, *Refugee Problem*, p. 119.

Saar, which had voted union with Germany. There was a rush in 1938 with the occupation of Austria, and another the same year when in autumn the Nazis undertook in a violent pogrom a campaign which was to become nothing less than a declared intention to obliterate Jewish blood from the German racial strain. Another wave arrived, as an indirect result of the German occupation of the Sudetenland. Czech refugees poured into the dismembered trunk and thence via Poland and the Balkans to the outside world. In the earlier years, until 1938, the movement was somewhat regular, individuals being received, cared for, and resettled according to plan. Average rate of emigration was about 25,000 per year. Approximately 30,000 to 35,000 German refugees were to be found in Europe in any ordinary year. But in 1938 matters suddenly worsened as the flow became a flood. Violence against the Jews increased at the same time that the Third Reich, to the shock of Europe, expanded into Austria, the Sudetenland, the rest of Czechoslovakia, Danzig, and finally into Poland—all to the accompaniment of Hitler's frenzied denunciations and the massed shouts of *Sieg heil!* which reverberated from the immense playing field of the Nürnberg stadium. My visit to that stadium in 1965 revealed immense neglect, apparently intentional. Weeds were springing up in cracks in the concrete seats. *Sic transit gloria mundi.*

The causes of the forced migration from Germany center on the activities of the Nazi party. But that is not the whole story. Among the underlying causes were the long-standing military tradition of the "Prussian" school and the political theories of *Grossweltpolitik*. Hitler did not invent ideas about *Lebensraum*. Another underlying factor was anti-Semitism, which has a long history in central Europe. One recalls the dismal story of violence against the Jews during the Crusades. The Nazis seized upon this virulent force and exploited it systematically and ruthlessly in order to accomplish the extermination of the entire Jewish population.⁴ The approach of the Nazis to the "Jewish problem" is perhaps best understood in terms of the so-called Nuremberg Laws of 1935. They demonstrate that to the Nazis Jewishness was a matter, not of religion, but of race—blood. No matter how long a Jew may have been a professed Christian—or atheist—he was still a Jew. This taint was indelible, therefore, and could by no means whatsoever be eradicated. Hence the Nazi laws were extremely specific in defining who was and who was not a Jew. A Jew was held to be a person with four or three Jewish grandparents, or a person with two Jewish grandparents who (1) was an adherent of the Jewish religion, or (2) was married to a Jew, or (3) was the product of mar-

⁴ William L. Shirer, *Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*, pp. 283, 323, 477–78, and *passim*.

riage to a Jew after 1935, or (4) was the product of extramarital relations with a Jew after 1936. That is not all. A *Mischling* was a person who had two Jewish grandparents but did not qualify under the four alternatives above, or a person with one Jewish grandparent. Persons defined as Jews were disenfranchised, were forbidden to be officials, state lawyers, or physicians, were excluded from professional participation in cultural activity, were forbidden public labor service and military service, and were forbidden marriage or extramarital sex relations with non-Jews. *Mischlinge* were forbidden only official position, military command, and participation in cultural activities. In addition, in certain areas, such as farm inheritance and journalism, persons with even less Jewish ancestry were likely to be excluded. A *Mischling* who married a Jew became legally a Jew himself. If he wished to marry a German, he must obtain special permission from high authority—rarely granted. No wonder the government designated the racial laws as “Law for the Protection of German Blood”! These were the laws. Beyond the law was the practice of the local authorities and the people, spelled out in terms of food at the grocery, medicine at the pharmacy, rooms in the hotel, and employment. The next step was petty persecution, annoying interference, defilement. Finally came the pogrom which led to the efficient mass gas chambers.

Not all of the refugees, of course, were Jews. Some were individuals who simply could not accept Nazi ideas. Others were fleeing from fear of arrest or violence. Anyone who formerly had been identified with a liberal or democratic cause, and anyone who had supported the Social Democratic (Marxist) party, stood in danger. For this was a one-party state, a state in which there was no room for dissent and no room for individual opinion. The principle prevailed that whoever is not for us is against us. The day after the Reichstag fire the clauses of the Weimar Constitution pertaining to freedom were canceled. Soon specific restrictions were imposed on press and post. Before long the pattern of dictatorship had been imposed, step by step. Political parties, except for the Nazis, ceased to exist. Trade unions were either dissolved or turned into something else, the National Socialist Labor Front.

Gradually the churches were invaded, more subtly. In resistance, among Protestants appeared a movement which came to be called the Confessing church. Its most courageous challenge to the Nazi attempt to dominate the *whole* life of man was the Barmen Declaration of 1934, in which the Barmen Synod of the Confessing church rejected Nazi racial and totalitarian theories. Other Lutherans and Reformed submitted to the political authority and became the so-called German Christians. The Roman Catholic church was also persecuted. Thus a definite

religious factor was present. Some—a minority—of the victims of Nazi persecution may quite properly be described as religious refugees, if that term is understood to mean persons in whom a variety of pressures operate, one, perhaps ultimately the central one, being religious commitment.

Until 1938 the movement out of Germany was rather small. Certainly it was much smaller than the earlier migrations of Armenians, Greeks, and Russians. About 150,000 fled between 1933 and 1937, one-third of them the first year. This was less than one-fourth of one percent of the German population. But the whole story of Nazi progress has been one of gradual crescendo, from lesser to greater adventure. One who had read Hitler's *Mein Kampf* carefully would know the ultimate aim, including the extermination of the Jews. The relatively orderly exodus before 1938 contributed to a take-it-for-granted attitude on the part of the Western nations. Only a few voices, sometimes regarded as emotional and extremist, warned of disaster to come. This complacency applied to the larger questions of world history as well as to the problem of refugees. A few thousand exiles could be assimilated systematically with humanitarian concern for the individual. At first most of them came into western European countries adjoining Germany. At the end of 1933, of 59,000 persons 60 percent were in western Europe and 11 percent were in Palestine.⁵ In contrast, at the end of 1937 less than 15 percent were in western Europe, 27 percent had migrated to Palestine, 17 percent were in the United States, and over 13 percent were in South America. Thus, of the 154,000 persons included in the figures for that year, most had already been resettled far from Germany. The majority of these persons were of German nationality, but large numbers of Polish Jews were also involved.

In 1938 John Hope Simpson expressed concern in his standard history of the prewar refugee problem over the potential for far greater disaster.⁶ He emphasized the known purpose of the Nazi government and the number of Jews remaining in Germany. He could not of course take into account the far larger Jewish population of countries not yet conquered. As to the rest,

For the possible future dimensions of the non-Jewish exodus no data are available. The conditions under which such emigration might take place are incalculable, as there is no reliable information even as to the number of persons in German prisons and concentration camps because of their political and religious opposition to the regime.

⁵ Simpson, charts on pp. 148–49. Simpson is still useful for the early period, although he could only guess in 1938 what was coming.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

One gets the distinct impression that Simpson knew he was living on a volcano which might explode at any moment. With characteristic English reserve he took refuge in "data" or the absence thereof. Nevertheless, the whole import of the book, conceived in connection with the Évian Conference and the IGCR which grew out of it, is to underscore the potential for mass refugee movements unheard of in history. As it turned out, his estimates of this potential were considerably below what actually happened.

In the summer of 1938 the German government began restricting the movement of Jews out of the country and by a law of 4 June forbade the transfer of any possessions or funds as they departed. After 7 November, when a secretary of the German legation in Paris, Ernst vom Rath, was killed by a Polish Jew, a series of further restrictions was imposed, which suddenly and massively increased the exodus. Further residence in Germany was almost impossible for Jews. By 1939 over half of the prewar Jews had left the country. In terms of census figures this means that over 281,000 departed between 1933 and 1939, leaving 221,000 still in Germany of the 503,000 Jews living in Germany in 1933.⁷ It is estimated that 12,000 more were in concentration camps. Then, as a result of *Anschluss* with Austria in 1938, 130,000 Jews left that country; 17,000 more managed to escape from the Sudetenland, and 5,000 from Danzig and Memel. The total for prewar Jewish refugees from the Greater Third Reich, therefore, comes to about 420,000. This figure may be compared with the total of 382,000 non-Jewish refugees from Greater Germany during the same prewar period.

The pressure of Jewish refugees was especially heavy during 1939, when the full impact of the new anti-Jewish legislation was felt. This year thousands escaped penniless from Germany and sought to enter Palestine, in spite of the restrictions laid down by the British under their mandated authority; 16,000 were permitted to enter legally with visas, 11,000 managed to enter even without visas, and perhaps 4,000 more illegal and unknown entries took place. Almost all of these persons had not only experienced the Nazi terror and the dangers of emigration but had undergone sufferings on the way in countries of temporary refuge. After perhaps months of struggle they arrived one way or another in the area of Palestine. Some got through. Others were turned back at the last barrier. It would be a mistake to assume, however, that only the would-be immigrants to Palestine were subject to such treatment. In the other hemisphere an episode occurred in Cuba which was even more nerve-racking.

⁷ Malcolm M. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, p. 25.

The liner *Saint Louis* arrived in Havana harbor on 30 May 1939 with 907 Jewish refugees, including 250 women and 200 children. These passengers, all of whom had proper visas, were prohibited from entry because the Cuban government had, on the basis of alleged fraud, canceled all previous visas. When the ship was ordered to depart on 1 June, several people attempted suicide. Desperate efforts to reopen settlement in Cuba failed. At last, on 13 June Belgium, France, Great Britain, and Holland offered temporary asylum.⁸

During these crucial months just before the outbreak of war the voluntary agencies did a great service, especially of course the Jewish groups. From Jewish sources a hundred million dollars was collected in 1938. Non-Jewish agencies, such as the American Friends Service Committee, also helped. Governmental activity centered in the organization of the IGCR. As a result thousands of refugees, Jewish and others, escaped in the nick of time and were quickly resettled in many countries around the world. Much was accomplished in spite of the rapidity of Nazi expansion, the timidity of the democratic nations, and the resistance to admission of Jews almost everywhere.

A special group was made up of refugees who left the Saar in 1935 because of the plebiscite which determined the accession of the area to Greater Germany. About 7,000 people migrated, 6,000 of them to France.⁹

Where did all these prewar German refugees go? Many of them were in fact not permanently settled at the time of the outbreak of the war, and many were residing in countries soon overwhelmed by the Nazi juggernaut. Thousands were caught again, and some of them succeeded in escaping again. Before the war started in Europe an estimated 1,152,000 refugees had come from Germany and her prewar conquests. This total also includes 350,000 Spanish Republicans, mostly in France. In countries later occupied by advancing German armies were 698,000 persons (about half of these were Spanish). France took most, then Czechoslovakia, the Low Countries, and Poland. They were also in the United States (137,000), Palestine (100,000), Great Britain (80,000), and in lesser numbers in Argentina, Mexico, Brazil, Colombia, Australia, and Switzerland. These totaled 454,000. As yet no really effective international organization was in a position to deal directly with the growing problem. The League's measures were largely limited to legal protection. The newly formed IGCR was unable to accomplish much except a series of exercises in futility compounded of inquiries, resolutions, meetings,

⁸ *New York Times*, 31 May 1939 and 2, 3, 5, 6, and 9 June 1939, as reported in *ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

⁹ Simpson, p. 155.

studies of possibilities, and so forth. In the rapidly expanding crisis there simply was no time for the necessary procedures of organization and deployment. Till the very last the immigration laws of every nation remained in force. Governments almost universally proved reluctant to consider Jewish settlement—except for other nations. Citizens of these nations were still debating the presumed effects of reception of refugees on the local economy. While this was going on, Hitler was skillfully timing his advances to match the patience and fear of the other nations in Europe. By 1939 the stage was almost ready for Armageddon. That which could not be extracted as a gift could be taken by right of conquest. On 1 September 1939 the German armies began their invasion of Poland.

So rapid was the acceleration of the crisis in 1939 that John Hope Simpson, author of the official publication of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, *The Refugee Problem*, was compelled to issue a supplement as of August 1939.¹⁰ This was necessary because of the great increase in flow from Germany and newly conquered lands and because of the culmination of the Spanish Civil War. He was forced to consider more directly the need for mass resettlement as over against the previous practice of individual treatment. He noted the slowness of response in contrast to the rapidity of increase in the problem. The addition of Austria and the Sudetenland to the Reich added a quarter of a million more Jews to those subject to Nazi persecution. This meant that, not 25,000 émigrés in orderly succession each year, but rather 400,000 in a short time would have to leave. There was the additional problem of the twice-over refugees from Czechoslovakia, now swallowed up completely by Nazi power. Both Jewish and non-Jewish Germans had taken refuge in Bohemia, which since independence after World War I had demonstrated a strong attachment to democracy. But the Nazi flood changed all that, driving out those who had so recently arrived, along with many of the Czechs themselves. From the Sudetenland had come Germans who opposed Nazi policies, Czechs who owned farms and property in the area now annexed to Germany, and Jews. The Czech government, while it still operated, resisted the immigration of these Germans for fear of dangerously increasing the German minority in Bohemia itself. Thousands were forcibly shipped back to Germany.

One aspect of the fall of Czechoslovakia was ironic—the occupation of Teschen by the Poles in October 1939. This nation, so soon to find herself desperately suffering under the Nazi boot, joined in the destruction of her neighbor, taking her “share” in a sad reversal of the once infamous

¹⁰ *Refugees, A Review of the Situation Since September 1938.*

Partition of Poland. Ten thousand Czech refugees fled from Teschen when the Poles took over.¹¹ In fact, this story was repeated in Hungarian-occupied territory to the south, in Slovakia, where anti-Jewish and anti-Czech measures were taken, and in the eastern province of Ruthenia. Although there were many Czech refugees within Czechoslovakia, relatively few emigrated or escaped,¹² mainly because of reluctance to leave their ancient homeland. It became a matter of principle to remain. A few thousand did leave out of necessity, many of them going to Great Britain.

In his 1939 supplement Simpson also noted the importance of overseas emigration, to Canada, the United States, and South America. Only in this manner could fugitives hope to escape the expanding power of Germany and relieve harried European states of their burden of providing first refuge.

C. The Spanish Civil War

A special and somewhat isolated development of the new totalitarianism took place in Spain. When the revolutionary forces of General Francisco Franco entered the Iberian Peninsula from North Africa in 1936, they set on foot a movement which within three years, after desperate fighting involving "volunteer" forces on both sides from other countries, took over the country. Franco, along with that other authoritarian, Salazar in Portugal, was uniquely fortunate in surviving World War II. The refugee movements caused by the Spanish war also survived.

Already in August 1936 refugees were moving northward from Granada and Córdoba.¹³ Perhaps a half-million moved into Castile, especially to Madrid. Others fled to the region of Ciudad Real and Toledo, and later to Madrid. From the Mediterranean regions they moved into Catalonia, especially to Barcelona. These huge numbers were composed of ordinary citizens, most of them good Roman Catholics. They sympathized with the liberal government of Republican Spain, for all its anticlericalism, and feared the dictatorial tendencies of the Falangist movement, for all its political devotion to the church. When Málaga, on the south coast east of Gibraltar, fell in 1937, another 150,000 refugees streamed along the coast road south of the Sierra Nevada, the only exit available, pursued by Nationalist planes which strafed the fleeing crowds with machine guns.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 39.

¹³ Simpson, *Refugee Problem*, p. 161.

These people straggled as far as Valencia, and eventually to Catalonia. The Basque country on the Bay of Biscay side was conquered after bitter fighting. Some of the inhabitants of these northern regions crossed into France. But France was reluctant to accept refugees as long as Republican Spain was established in Catalonia. Thus the northeast province of Spain became the gathering center not only for the defeated Republican government but also for refugees from all over. When Madrid fell, another large migration moved to Catalonia, although some were evacuated from the country altogether. In fact, in coastal areas, as long as the operation was possible, the British and French navies took on thousands of Spanish refugees, some from both sides in the conflict. The evacuation of Bilbao (nonmilitary personnel) was carried on by sea. About 60,000 persons escaped by sea, but later this route was not feasible.

Most of the evacuees by sea were landed in France, where they crowded the port cities. France inescapably became the refuge of more and more Spaniards as the Republican government weakened. In the spring of 1938, as Franco invaded the Mediterranean provinces, a wave of fugitives poured over the Pyrenees, most of them from Valencia. This early in the season they had struggled over the high passes still deep in snow. But still most of the refugees were in Spain. The government reported in August 1938 that about two million were being cared for—after a fashion—in government-controlled areas. When Franco began his attack on Catalonia at the end of 1938, homeless people were concentrated more and more in Barcelona, which was literally stuffed. By that time there were almost three million fugitives in Republican Spain. Already thousands were on the way north to the French frontier, some of them Catalonians, others already refugees from southern, western, and central regions. The day Barcelona fell, 26 January 1939, the first of the new tide reached La Junquera on the border. The French had intimated that they would prevent any further movements into France. By 1 February some 300,000 were massed on the frontier, guided as much as possible by Republican authorities, and 80,000 had already been admitted to France. The irresistible force of mass movement created French policy. Concentration camps were constructed for disarmed fighting men, who hitherto had been sent back to Spain. Inevitably many participants in this huge migration died of starvation and disease. The refugees were controlled by the French army, which deposited able-bodied men in the camps and sent the rest on trains inland, an operation accomplished with efficiency and humanitarian consideration. About half the fugitives were civilians, largely women and children. The rest were soldiers. Altogether in the summer of 1939 there were 350,000 Spanish refugees in France.

Great Britain did not take very many except for 3,800 children, most of whom were gradually repatriated. Some of those who fled to France returned after the war was over. Others have been assimilated into French society. Relatively few have emigrated overseas. Mexico offered to take some bona fide political refugees, but most of them were still in the camps and distribution centers when the Nazis arrived after the fall of France in the great war. Some were then deported by the Germans; others went underground. At least half of the prewar numbers were still in Europe at the end of the war. IRO helped several thousand to resettle in Argentina and Venezuela.¹⁴ Under an amnesty many returned to Spain, but this movement was balanced by a continuous flow out of Spain. In recent times a hundred thousand Spanish refugees continued to live in France. Others were scattered in former French possessions in North Africa and in various countries of Latin America.¹⁵

D. World War II

Although formal statistical tables have not been thought desirable for this history, the one on the following page is submitted here in connection with refugees during the period of World War II. It is essential for its shock value.

Forty million! It staggers the imagination. These figures are in a different level from most of those encountered in our story. Thousands and tens of thousands, yes. Hundreds of thousands occasionally. But ten million people displaced in the U.S.S.R. alone! Two million refugees who fled from Poland! Of course, the term "refugee" here must be used in a very broad sense. People shoved around are not necessarily and strictly speaking refugees. The seven-million figure recorded for Great Britain, which was not even invaded during the war, is illustrative. Almost all of the total was derived from compulsory evacuations of women and children from military target zones and of others who voluntarily removed themselves. An older person, for example, who sensibly got out of London and settled down for the war in his old village home up-country is not really a refugee. Even under the broad usage employed in this history the immense totals must be qualified. Even so, one observes the remainder and shudders. The twentieth is indeed the century of the homeless man.

¹⁴ Jacques Vernant, *Refugee in the Post-War World*, p. 59.

¹⁵ USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1964-65*, p. 5.

FORCED MOVEMENTS OF EUROPEAN CIVILIANS
DURING THE SECOND WORLD WAR ¹⁶

Country of Nationality	Interior	Exterior	Escapees from German and Soviet Areas	Total
Baltic States	21,900	509,200	36,450	567,550
Belgium	50,000	1,048,000	22,000	1,120,000
Britain	7,078,000	13,700	—	7,091,700
Czechoslovakia	322,000	154,000	9,000	485,000
Denmark	25,000	500	19,000	44,500
Finland	468,800	—	131,000	599,800
France	4,790,000	320,000	125,000	5,235,000
Germany	5,750,000	930,000	—	6,680,000
Greece	100,000	60,000	70,000	230,000
Italy	—	109,000	13,000	122,000
Luxembourg	—	72,000	500	72,500
Netherlands	200,000	160,000	35,000	395,000
Norway	521,000	8,000	90,000	619,000
Poland	10,400,000	2,212,000	188,000	4,508,000
Romania	2,108,000	507,900	—	1,159,800
Soviet Union	651,900	350,400	—	10,750,400
Yugoslavia	573,800	199,000	22,000	794,800
TOTAL	33,060,400	6,653,700	760,950	40,475,050

The coming of the war did not alter the intentions of the governments and their international agencies with regard to care of refugees, but it did interfere with their operations. In theory the League of Nations continued to carry responsibility for at least the international status of refugees. Increasingly, however, as the Nazi terror multiplied the problem and especially as the war itself displaced the masses from their homes, other agencies took over. The IGCR had scarcely begun its work before it was overwhelmed. Until 1943 the limited funds directly available to this organization were expended on administrative operations. The actual maintenance of refugees fell to the various private groups. The ILO, which had always played a secondary role, was not able to give

¹⁶ Proudfoot, p. 34.

leadership. As reports of the virulent Nazi program for actual extermination of the Jews filtered out of Germany, people of many nations were deeply concerned. A conference attended by British and American delegates in Bermuda in April 1943 resulted in expansion of the responsibility of IGCR to include all persons displaced through wartime destruction and also in charging it with not only coordinating but operating refugee programs. Public funds now became available.¹⁷ In the United States the War Refugees Board sought to rescue as many from Nazi persecution as possible.

As the war progressed and became more complex, the military command discovered it had vast responsibilities for people beyond the administration of armies. The Supreme Headquarters of the Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) necessarily undertook large operations for relief of the civilian population, if only to keep them out of the way of military affairs. Then in November 1943 the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) was established. This body, semimilitary and always related to the military command, assumed major obligation until its dissolution after the war and replacement by IRO.

Returning to the victims themselves, the forty million, we find, on analysis of the chart, that 83 percent were displaced persons within their own countries and never migrated abroad. Less than a million persons (761,000) actually fled their countries to escape from German- and Soviet-controlled territory. On the other hand, the grand total still does not include the German forced labor battalions or the Germans displaced by the Soviets and others after the end of the war. Altogether, in summary, the movements were

the result of the persecution, forcible deportation, or flight of Jews and the political opponents of the authoritarian governments; the transference of ethnic populations back to their homeland or to newly created provinces acquired by war or treaty; the arbitrary rearrangement of the pre-war boundaries of sovereign states; the mass flight of civilians under the terror of bombardment from the air and under the threat or pressure of the advance or retreat of armies over immense areas of Europe; the forced removal of populations from coastal or defense areas under military dictation; and the deportations for forced labour to bolster the German war effort.¹⁸

To retell these movements in detail would be to narrate the war. They were going on all the time but at different rates and in different directions. People *en masse* were literally tossed back and forth. It would be un-

¹⁷ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, p. 14.

¹⁸ Proudfoot, p. 32.

profitable to go over the whole story. The large movements for forced labor and air raid evacuations may be passed by with a recognition of the extreme suffering entailed especially in the former. It is debatable whether members of forced labor battalions were refugees or prisoners. In general the story of wartime refugee movements went as follows.¹⁹

In Czechoslovakia Jews continued to escape, along with thousands of non-Jews, to the eastward and southward. When Nazi pressure against the Jews toughened in 1942, 71,000 were forced out of their homes, the majority being incarcerated in the Terezin Concentration Camp, whence a year later most of them were deported to Poland. Slovak farmers were expelled by Hungarian occupation authorities. But twice as many Czechs were expelled by the Slovaks! Bohemian Jews had been, as noted, moved to Poland, scarcely a land of refuge. Beginning with the advance of the German armies in September 1939, Poland was a seething mass of migrating people. Hundreds of thousands of civilians fled before the Germans. The Polish army finally became another refugee group. When Warsaw fell to the Germans, 300,000 refugees were caught. Huge numbers of Jews escaped into Soviet lands or neighboring countries, but most of them either didn't get through or were subsequently caught in other conquests. Populations were exchanged between German and Soviet portions of Poland. When the eastern war was resumed, masses migrated eastward before the Germans all the way to Moscow. Poland under German control was subjected to further forced movements, including 1,200,000 Poles and 400,000 Polish Jews. The central portion of old Poland became a dumping ground for unwanted Jews.

In Russia itself most of the forced movements resulted from the huge military operations which pressed upon Leningrad, Moscow, and Stalin-grad. The ten million persons indicated in the table represent a rough estimate of these displacements. When the Germans retreated, the situation was reversed. Groups of ethnic Germans who had lived in Russia for generations were systematically uprooted, willingly and not, for migration back toward Poland and Germany. Over 350,000 Germans were thus affected, mainly in 1943 and 1944. Among these were the Mennonite remnants in south Russia. The ethnic Germans who happened to be settled east of the farthest German advance fared little better. They had already been transferred to Siberia by the Russians! And their numbers more than balanced those who went west.

In the Baltic nations Germans were sent to German areas before the accession of the three little countries to Russia. Then the Soviets under-

¹⁹ The substance of this summary is from *ibid.*, pp. 33 ff.

took sizable deportations of Baltic people, including Jews, as the Germans attacked in 1941. Several thousand Baltic people managed to escape on their own to Sweden, especially in 1944, as the Soviets returned. They got across the Baltic Sea in every kind of boat and by every means except swimming. Altogether during the war well over a half-million people were displaced in and from the Baltic regions. The cession of Karelia to Russia resulted in the evacuation to Finland of 318,000 Finns during two weeks in March 1940. Almost all of these had to be evacuated a second time later on as a result of changing fortunes of war. Furthermore, the Finns sent 45,000 of their children, along with 30,000 women, to Sweden.

In southern Europe the weary march continued in varied forms, as the Italians pushed out German-Austrians from south Tyrol and tried to drive out 20,000 newly arrived Jews until they were frustrated by the British blockade. Nine thousand were deported to the favorite dumping ground, Poland; 40,000 Romanians fled from Bessarabia before Russia took it; 72,000 Jews fled from pogroms in Bucharest and other centers into Soviet Bessarabia; 219,000 Transylvanian Romanians had to get out when Hungary took that province, but 160,000 ethnic Hungarians in Romania had to move into Hungarian-occupied regions. Something of the same thing happened between Romania and Bulgaria. When the Germans, aided by the Romanians, invaded Soviet Bessarabia in 1941, 100,000 Jews fled farther into the Soviet Union. The Romanians replaced them with 185,000 Jews from Bucharest and other centers.

The dismemberment of Yugoslavia brought about a whole series of forced population transfers. Remnants of the army and government, as well as such Jews as could, escaped before the Germans took over, some of them making their way by ship to Egypt and the Near East. The forced exchanges followed the pattern established for the benefit of the conquering and annexing country. In Greece, however, the main pressure was to drive the Greeks southward out of Thrace and Macedonia. But 60,000 were deported to Poland and elsewhere, and 70,000 managed to escape with British help.

Although the Germans early occupied Denmark, not until 1943 did they engage in major raids designed to ferret out Jews and other undesirables. With the help of an active underground, however, most of the intended victims escaped to Sweden. When Germany suddenly overwhelmed Norway, no less than 20,000 Norwegian seamen on duty around the world became "refugees" and offered their services to the Allies. Several thousand Norwegians escaped from the country to Sweden, Great Britain, even the United States and Canada. The forced deportation of coastal-dwelling Norwegians into the interior was even more serious

than the large numbers of persons involved—400,000. Norway has always been a maritime and fishing nation. More and more Norwegians slipped over into Sweden along the long mountainous frontier.

In the Low Countries Dutch seamen followed the same path as the Norwegians. But, of 50,000 refugees who initially fled from the Germans, all but about 5,000 returned after a while. Throughout the war daring Dutch escapes by sea continued. When 104,000 Dutch Jews were sent off to Poland, both Protestant and Catholic churches protested in telegrams, and a pulpit declaration was made, in spite of threats by the Nazis to deport also baptized non-Aryans.²⁰ The rest, a large minority, successfully hid out. With memories of World War I still vivid in Belgium, perhaps a million from this little country tried to get out before the Germans arrived. They contributed to the confusion of the Allied defending forces. Some actually did escape, and 1,500 eventually got to the Belgian Congo.

Of all the countries subjected to Nazi control France had the largest, or at least the most varied, investment in foreign refugees. The biggest movement was the mass flight of four million civilians at the time of the sudden German military success in spring 1940. Mingled with them in addition were a million Belgians, 70,000 Luxembourgers, 50,000 Dutch, 50,000 Jews of German and Austrian extraction, and 30,000 refugee Poles still running away from the Germans. Photographs of this mass exodus show pathetic streams of people in cars, but more often in carts or on foot, all competing with the military forces of defense, which soon were not clear whether they were marching forward or backward. Only a small portion had the stamina, resources, and luck to get across the borders of Switzerland or Spain, or to sail off to Great Britain or North Africa. After a year almost a million were still displaced from their homes. As elsewhere large numbers—in France a million—were deported from coastal areas. The people of Alsace-Lorraine did not know whether to flee with the French, return at German behest, resist deportation to Germany, or enlist in the army. Systematic persecution of Jews followed the same dismal pattern in France. Of the 350,000, 65,000 were refugees from Poland and 45,000 were refugees from Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia. Although 120,000 of these were deported, mainly to Poland, the rest were able, energetically assisted by the French underground, to hide in scattered places all around France.

Vichy France faced a major problem in the concentration of refugees, especially Spanish Republicans, in that section. Most were rounded up

²⁰ W. A. Visser 't Hooft, *Struggle of the Dutch Church*, pp. 47–50.

and incarcerated in concentration camps which in fact if not in intent were almost as bad as those notorious camps in Nazi Germany. When the Germans occupied all France as the Allies made their North African landings, another intensive operation to ferret out unwanted folk of all sorts took place. Again some escaped into Switzerland and Spain—until the efficient Germans closed off most of the routes. Of the approximately five millions involved during the war in France, about 125,000 managed to escape from the German power and attain safe refuge.

The theme of dangerous escape is one of the most dramatic aspects, not only of refugee movements, but of the whole maritime world. A sort of deadly game was pursued between the refugees and the Germans, the object of which was to attain—or cut off—the escape route first. During the war legal migration was almost impossible. One of the most common methods was to sail off in small boats from the long coastline. This was possible for a while. But it became increasingly difficult, forbiddingly so, when the Germans systematically removed local population from the coastal regions, which then became pure military areas in which all movement was strictly controlled. Nevertheless, the furtive if infrequent sailings over the Black Sea, the Aegean Sea, the Mediterranean, the Baltic to Sweden, and the North Sea to Great Britain continued till the end of the war. Also escapes continued over the limited land frontiers, in spite of intensive guard installations and frontier controls. The eastern frontier was long and relatively wide open. But escapees tended to get lost in the massive deportations and population exchanges. Then there was the question of what they were escaping *to*. Most likely routes for the hardy were the mountains into Spain or Switzerland. If one was willing to travel over the mountain peak instead of through the pass, one might make it.

Official public agencies were not able to work effectively under the pressures of wartime necessity. They could not afford to become embroiled in diplomatic complications or interfere with the war effort. The United States, as long as it remained technically neutral, was very effective in helping refugees and in admitting them under special arrangements. Most distressing was the inability of any power to halt or mitigate the ferocity of the German mass extermination of the Jews in Poland, the crime of genocide. Jews were inclined to feel that the Allies were not doing all they could in behalf of the Jewish refugees—especially when it came to emigration to Palestine. As a result the grim process of race murder ran its course. Of a total of almost ten million Jews who were living in Europe before World War II, a little over three and a half million were left at the end. A quarter of a million escaped or migrated soon enough. Almost six million were killed or disappeared.

Some of the last group reappeared later among the deportees in the Soviet area.²¹ Nine-tenths of the Polish Jews were wiped out. Of 240,000 German Jews only 12,000 were in Germany in the Allied zones in 1945. Many others, of course, had emigrated to other countries. The Jewish population in Great Britain, Eire, Italy, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland, as well as the nations of ultimate resettlement like the United States, Canada, and Latin America, rose modestly, the end result of the massive processes of obliteration in Continental Europe.

The forced migrations of the war, however, should not be seen as exclusively, or even mainly, Jewish. The racial bias of Nazism only added a further inflammatory element to this aspect. Almost all peoples of Europe suffered many types of dislocation. Some of the scars will be a long time healing. When the war was over and a collective sigh welled up, the situation was as it is described in the following chapters. The story of twentieth-century refugees was, it seemed, just beginning.

In some particular phases the prewar, wartime, and postwar movements took on distinctly religious qualities, as in the case of the Mennonites. Hence this aspect, most closely related to the theme of our story, is dealt with in the chapter on refugees for conscience' sake. Almost unbelievably, some of the people caught in the mass persecutions and inhuman deportations retained a clear sense of Christian commitment to a power greater than even that in which they were caught. These, of the household of faith, deserve a special chapter. But let us not forget the ultimately religious nature of all totalitarian movements, which adds a religious perspective to all the migrating masses.

²¹ Data by American Jewish Joint Distribution Committee, reported in news media.

Chapter 32

Europe After World War II

Most of the harvest of war comes in after the fighting is over. The tremendous upheavals of violence had scattered millions, uprooted families from their homes, and left them stranded helpless victims of forces beyond not only their control but even their understanding. Nowhere were the dislocations more intense and more enduring than in Europe, a crowded subcontinent whose peoples preserved a long heritage of conflict and rivalry for *Lebensraum*. The masses of wartime refugees were still far from home when the war in Europe ended in spring 1945. Suddenly the situation was completely changed. Almost overnight it became possible for these millions of displaced persons to go home, or at least to consider the possibility. Almost as suddenly another frightening mass of refugees appeared in postwar Europe, the ethnic Germans who, some for centuries, others only during the war, had lived in central and southeastern Europe outside the traditional borders of German lands. These *Volksdeutsche*, who had been so fervently welcomed into the realm of the Third Reich, now found the tables tragically turned. From one country after another they were summarily expelled as dangerous undesirables. The *Drang nach Osten* was reversed as Germany shrank to a core shorn of all vestige of Slavic possession. At the same time these millions of expellees poured back into Germany and Austria. The pure strain of "Nordic blood" had become a taint to be obliterated. It made little difference whether they were strictly *Volksdeutsche* (longtime settlers outside Germany) or *Reichsdeutsche* (residents of former German territory now ceded to neighboring conquerors).

A. Aftermath

The German collapse was long-drawn-out and painful. The months from February through May 1945 went from anarchy to chaos in central Europe. As France and other areas were liberated, prisoners of war and internees in concentration camps were released into a world they could scarcely recognize. That world had changed. So had they. Those who could think at all thought of going home. Nobody knew exactly how many such refugees there were, nor just where they were living.¹ The estimates added up to the following:

SHAEF area of Germany, Austria, and Czechoslovakia	5,922,000
Soviet area including other Slavic countries.	4,502,000
France	215,000
Norway	111,000
Middle East and Turkey	81,000
Sweden	63,000
Switzerland	52,000
United Kingdom	38,000
Italy	34,000
Soviet Union	24,000
Denmark	21,000
Belgium	13,000
Netherlands	2,000
	<hr/>
	11,078,000

This massive total does not include any German refugees produced by the expulsions from eastern European lands. As the summer months progressed, the numbers involved grew considerably. By the end of September estimates placed the refugees cared for by Supreme Headquarters Allied Expeditionary Force (SHAEF) at 6,795,000 and those under Soviet control at 6,870,000.² Of those in SHAEF areas there were a million and a half French prisoners and refugees, over two million Russians, almost a million Poles, 600,000 Italians, 280,000 Dutch, 272,000 Belgians, 235,000 Hungarians, 229,000 Yugoslavs, and smaller number

¹ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*. This massive work and those of Malcolm J. Proudfoot, *European Refugees: 1939-52* and Jacques Vernant, *Refugee in the Post-War World*, are the prime standard sources for this period. Unless otherwise noted, the present chapter is based on them.

² Proudfoot, pp. 158-59. The figures for operations under Soviet administration are not reliable in detail. The table above is on p. 189.

of Czechs, Germans (in Austria under SHAEF), and other European nationalities. The Soviet block of prisoners and refugees included five and a quarter million Russians, three-quarters of a million Poles, 295,000 French, 210,000 Czechs, and smaller numbers of Yugoslavs, Italians, and others.

In the west these hordes of homeless people became the responsibility of SHAEF, aided by the service organizations already at work before the end of the war, United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA) and the Intergovernmental Committee on Refugees (IGCR), together with numerous voluntary and religious agencies. The sheer mass of persons involved was staggering. Problems of refugee care had to be measured in different terms. Logistics of housing, food, and transport required the full efforts of the machinery available in the military administration. The armed forces of course took immediate responsibility for the repatriation of military personnel as they were liberated or demobilized. Such was the chaos in Europe, however, that many soldiers had to get home as best they could. Especially was this the case in eastern Europe. Frequently stranded soldiers would be mixed with lost civilians fresh out of concentration camps. Until affairs could be more or less ordered, the new freedom meant freedom to survive or starve. The military administration of the Allies was, to be sure, in high gear; but it was burdened with innumerable other problems as pressing as care of refugees. IGCR, which had been established as a result of the Évian Conference of 1938, continued to expand its operations during the war to include refugees from countries other than the original Nazi Reich. Nevertheless, it did not engage in work with displaced persons who were citizens of countries cooperating in the organization unless requested. The other governmental agency most active at the end of the war was UNRRA, which had started its work earlier in response to the unprecedented need for care of masses of displaced persons. The efforts of these two agencies were brought together in 1947 as they turned over responsibility to the International Refugee Organization (IRO).

At first most of the work was purely military, a part of occupation policy in maintaining public order or establishing it where there was none. "The welfare and repatriation of United Nations displaced persons is a principal Allied objective," stated the SHAEF *Guide to the Care of Displaced Persons in Germany*, published in May 1945. It went on to define the needs for housing, if necessary by the transfer of Germans from villages to nearby concentration camps. This *Guide* was a revision of an earlier wartime document, and it became the basis for the later work of UNRRA and IRO. The need for ordered action was especially

acute in Germany and Austria, where the displaced persons constituted almost a quarter of the population, and where local facilities were least able to absorb them. Refugees and people just out of the disreputable concentration camps were everywhere and on the loose. Authorities identified some four hundred separate small groups of them in Hamburg alone, eighty-one in Linz. The most pressing need, therefore, was to bring them together in centers where they could be fed, housed, and clothed, and also where they could be protected from the hazards of freedom and from their own bitterness and desire for revenge. An SHAEF report on conditions in the Bocholt camp in the spring of 1945 stated,

The DP camp was in a five-floor block of the Siemens and Halcke factory. All other parts of this factory had been bombed and were a heap of debris. This town has just been taken, and of course, there is no light or water. It is a dead town with no inhabitants—only ruins, stench of burned things, and dead. In front of the building are bombed trains and the bombed railway station. We took over the place from another unit on the morning of 5 April. The situation was critical and nearly out of control. More than 3,000 people of different nationalities were all mixed together. There were no lavatories (so any place was used as such); too little food; looting on a universal scale. People were grumbling that their physical condition under the Germans was much better than after their liberation. During the period of our work at Bocholt 25,603 persons have been dealt with in our centre.³

Part of the difficulty continued to be uncertainty as to responsible authority. Zonal boundaries between Allied areas were redefined in July for Germany and Austria. Shortly afterward all United States forces left Czechoslovakia. In these changes many eastern Europeans were left behind, but western Europeans, stateless persons, and eastern Europeans who feared the Soviet governments were evacuated along with the troops. Then separate military zones were set up again when SHAEF disbanded in mid-July in favor of the zonal system still in effect in part. By this time large numbers of military and displaced persons had already been repatriated, most of those remaining in Germany and Austria were eastern Europeans, and national repatriation officers had been trained and sent out to facilitate the return of nationals to their own countries. The huge job of registration of individuals began, at first by the military, soon by UNRRA assisted by the voluntary agencies. Increasingly the latter became important as the problem changed from one of mass movement to one of individual care. A separate chapter deals with the special work of these organizations. Some of the major groups of displaced per-

³ SHAEF report quoted in *ibid.*, p. 171.

sons, such as the French, were quickly repatriated because little difficulty was encountered in registering them and in providing transportation. Trains were naturally running empty in the direction of France. Over one and a half million thus went westward toward home between March and September 1945. With equal facility over a quarter-million each of Belgians and Dutch were repatriated. Nearly three-quarters of a million Italians, as ex-enemies, were sent home more slowly. Well over five million Soviet citizens were repatriated sooner or later. Here the contrast between Russia and the West became apparent. SHAEF had a plan and a *Guide*, and IGCR and UNRRA were ready to help. Russia had no plan and no guide. Moreover, transport was more disrupted and slower in repair than in the west. Thousands of displaced persons and former prisoners of war found their way home individually as best they could, sometimes on foot for hundreds of miles. A new problem confronted the western Allies as it became apparent that many eastern refugees, perhaps a quarter-million, did not want to go home at all (Baltic peoples, Poles, Ukrainians, White Russians, Ruthenians). They were living in camps in Germany and Austria. Toward the end of May SHAEF decided not to count as Soviet citizens people who formerly had homes outside the Soviet Union. Yet authorities were bound to the Yalta agreements and cooperated as much as possible with the Russian repatriation officers who sought the return of their nationals. Only when occasional Soviet "man-hunts" took place did the western authorities resist and protect refugees who feared repatriation. In general, however, military personnel and clearly identified nationals of all types were repatriated during the first few months following the end of the war in Europe.

One of the most terrible harvests of World War II came out of the notorious concentration camps. Most of the inhabitants, in fact, never made it. Indeed, many who were still living on the day of liberation died before they could be moved to better quarters. For them the food and medicines came far too late. The long survival on starvation rations and the irreversible physical deterioration continued to take inevitable toll even after the gates were opened. Teams of physicians flown in to such holes as Bergen-Belsen found many of the freed prisoners past help. Even the elementary problem of identification was most difficult. Countless people were known only by numbers tattooed on their arms and by colored triangles affixed to their clothes. Red meant political prisoner; green a criminal; purple a fanatic; rose a homosexual; blue a recaptured prisoner; black an antisocial individual; and yellow (Star of David) a Jew. Perhaps the worst aspect was the moral deterioration that followed the physical. Often the people had been living like animals. Food was

for grabbing. Other people were for pushing. No one was for trusting. All Germans were for killing. During the brief period between release from concentration camp and gathering in relief camp many of the newly free either ran riot or went berserk. Others simply collapsed and died.

Reports came in from those who opened Bergen-Belsen Camp. The inmates were of two kinds—scarecrows and corpses. Thirteen thousand of the latter lay unburied. The rest were crowded together in noisome huts without any facilities at all. There were no latrines, but most of the people could not have moved to use them if there had been. Eighty percent were suffering from dysentery. No water had been available for three to five days before liberation. So poor was the condition of the people that most could not be taken out of those surroundings for three or four months. Afterward the camp was cleared and razed. Behind all this lay the backdrop of some five million people executed in such concentration camps during the war, not counting a million more who simply starved to death.

Some of the persons who were responsible for perpetration of these outrages soon became refugees themselves, as the end of war quickly reversed the situation of keeper and prisoner. Most of the Germans, of course, were responsible only in the sense that they had participated in a system which permitted such things to be. By far the largest single group of refugees was composed of the German inhabitants of Slavic lands and former eastern German provinces, now expelled en masse without any planning or preparation, million after million. This immense migration came as a direct result of the agreements made at Potsdam in midsummer 1945. The agreements were chiefly that (1) all persons who were Soviet citizens should be returned "home" to Russia, and (2) all ethnic Germans in eastern Europe, whether they had long-standing citizenship in other countries or not, and whether they lived in areas formerly German or never German, should be shipped to postwar Germany. These arrangements were vigorously denounced by the bishop of Chichester, G. K. A. Bell.⁴ No less than eighteen million had to leave their homes shortly after the war. Of these about nine million reappeared in Austria or western Germany and four million in the Soviet zone of Germany. What had happened to the remaining five million? What, indeed?

At least the latter did not crowd in to redouble the problems of life in the defeated lands of Austria and Germany. Those who came arrived in the midst of utter chaos. As the war ended it was estimated that about one million Germans were struggling westward without means or goal.

⁴ See "Tragedy in Eastern Europe," *Christianity and Crisis*, V (1945), 7.

These were mostly German citizens. There were more to come, mostly ethnic Germans who had held citizenship in one or another of the central European nations which had felt the hard heel of the Nazi boot. From Poland they came, inhabitants of areas that for long had sported German place names; from the Czech Sudetenland, which had been Hitler's opening wedge; from Hungary, so long "Germanized"; from Romania, where little German cities with German names had subsisted more or less happily for centuries. By January 1946 well over four million of them were already in western Germany. Three and a half million more poured in that year, followed by over a half-million each in 1947 and 1948. The chief center of temporary congregation was ruined Berlin, already a pawn of controversy between East and West. Other centers were Vienna, Dresden, Nürnberg, and Munich. Now for all these uncountable masses the German "government," in theory, was responsible. For a while there wasn't any German government, apart from some local municipal administrations which had somehow escaped the collapse. But what could burgomasters and aldermen do about so massive a problem? Their more immediate duty was to prevent starvation among the permanent inhabitants. The standard of living in the defeated areas was understandably very low. Housing there if anywhere was at a premium. Most of it was rubble not yet cleaned out of the streets. Even the rural areas, which had escaped the direct impact of the bombs, were crowded with city refugees who could not even get back. The winter of 1946-47, at the point of highest pressure from the expellees, was extremely frigid and difficult.

The "enemy" refugees were excluded from the large-scale provisions of SHAEF and UNRRA for care of non-German refugees. Under the circumstances they could scarcely expect much help. Slowly Germany began to pull herself together and grope toward recovery. Measures were taken, very halting and very small, to cope with the mass of new arrivals. The German Red Cross and Catholic and Protestant welfare groups began to do what little they could. Even the American and British Friends Service Committees helped. Over the first summer the possibility of outdoor living postponed the crisis. By autumn some of the former concentration camps were emptied of their prisoners and were made available. It was minimal living. If the non-German refugees had to subsist on 2,300 calories, or sometimes 2,000, the German expellees did well to average 1,550 calories. The Allies recognized that a problem existed, although they did not feel responsibility for it. The Potsdam Agreement of mid-1945, in Article XIII, sought "to make more orderly and humane the inevitable expulsion of those Germans remaining in Poland, Czechoslovakia, and

Hungary." Attempts were made to organize the movements and integrate expulsions and receptions, without much success. The demographic effects were startling. West Germany in 1939 had had a population of about fifty-nine million. In 1950 it was sixty-nine million, in spite of a wartime loss of over four million.⁵ Refugees then amounted to twelve and a half million, about 18 percent of the population. In Schleswig-Holstein one person in three was a new arrival; in Mecklenburg one person in two. But only 7 percent in the French sector were expellees.

Much tension developed between new and old inhabitants, for such was the condition of life that survival was the most important question for all. There wasn't much of anything left over for the new people, who were reduced to penury.

In the long run the hard imposition of this problem on the German authorities was probably good. It avoided the bitter separation of those Germans supported by the former enemy victors, and it laid the foundations for full assimilation of newcomers. Whatever else should be said, all Germans suffered alike those first months and years. Gradually, as a federal government appeared, economic measures, including currency reform, brought the possibility of a solution. A *Ministerium für Vertriebene* was set up to deal with the millions of expellees. By 1951 the government, with the help of the European Cooperation Administration, had devised a plan to settle the 600,000 refugees who were still without work and to resettle 700,000 refugees from crowded areas. Housing was to be provided. Thus one of the most enormous refugee problems of modern times was resolved.⁶ In the west the expellees shared in the recovery of the Federal Republic as a whole. In the east their lot was the same as that of east Germans generally under Soviet domination.

The waves started by this mass movement reached the farthest corners of Europe. So many Germans poured into Sweden in 1948 that the government had to take action to restrict their entry. Six or seven hundred had slipped into the country illegally during the first two-thirds of that year. Those who got through were permitted to stay, but the Swedish government did not wish to contemplate a continuation of the flow.⁷ That which had happened to the ethnic Germans in Slavic lands now befell also 350,000 Bulgarians of Turkish origin who were expelled to Turkey, and 400,000 Karelians who left home for Finland when Karelia was ceded to Russia in 1947.⁸

⁵ Detailed figures in chart, Proudfoot, pp. 378-79.

⁶ See chart in Vernant, p. 108, showing the situation in 1952.

⁷ News item in *Cleveland Press*, 20 Nov. 1948.

⁸ Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, p. 15.

In 1950, when 600,000 ethnic German refugees were still in Austria, a country of six million population, a conference on refugees was held in Salzburg. Dr. Stewart W. Herman of the Lutheran World Federation opened a sore wound when he emphasized the measure of Allied responsibility for the plight of the German refugees:

The most significant reason why Austria's refugee problem is international is the expulsion of ethnic Germans from Eastern European countries, sanctioned by the Potsdam Agreement in August, 1945. Thus the principal Allies, in the minds of many of their citizens, bear a very large measure of the responsibility for the unfortunate results. Speaking as an American, I say that we seem to have been guilty of adopting the ethnic labels of the Nazis, and condemning whole races in total disregard of elementary rights.⁹

In such manner all nations and all peoples have been drawn into the moral swamps associated with the mass persecutions and mass expulsions of the twentieth century. The treatment of even the former enemy could not rightly be ignored, even when millions of their former victims were also still homeless. One student has identified five factors which molded the refugee problem: (1) powerful and emotional political forces on both sides of the iron curtain, which created another thick curtain of red tape and obstruction; (2) the manifold forms of relief and welfare expressed in secular, nondenominational, denominational, interdenominational, and ecumenical organizations; (3) the needs, demands, and propaganda of the refugees themselves as they strove to find their ways to a new life; (4) the conflict of purposes and directions in the leadership of relief agencies, as, for example, the question of repatriation or resettlement and the question of denominational, national, or ecumenical organization; and (5) the economic facts of life which limited ability to carry out desired programs.¹⁰ Many were the moral problems involved in this complex situation in which vindictive passions of the war years continued for long to threaten Christian witness. The World Council of Churches (WCC) and its Refugee Service were a major force in creating an ecumenical stance which fought to transcend these divisive influences. Especially effective was Elfan Rees, who brought his experience with UNRRA to the service of the WCC in 1947.

⁹ Quoted in Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, p. 143.

¹⁰ Timothy L. Smith, "Two Worlds, One Faith," unpublished manuscript on Protestant and Orthodox Christians in postwar Europe, pp. 41-42. Material used with acknowledgment by kind permission of author.

B. Developing Organization: UNRRA, IGCR, and IRO

As the military occupation relaxed, UNRRA assumed more and more of the responsibility, although still subordinate to military authority in accordance with its wartime origin. By the end of 1945 it had five thousand agents administering two-thirds of the centers in west Germany serving three-quarters of the displaced persons. The peak of repatriation following the end of the war was already past, although this work was still very important. The situation faced by UNRRA in the fall of 1945 was as follows: ¹¹

Poles	1,056,000	Over half of total, most in Germany, but 100,000 in France
Baltic peoples	179,000	Most in Germany, but 37,000 in Sweden
Yugoslavs	125,000	Almost half in Austria, rest in Germany and Italy
Hungarians	122,000	18,000 in Austria, 7,000 in France
Jews	69,000	Germany and Austria, but 21,000 in Italy and 16,000 in China
Romanians	59,000	Most in Austria
Soviet citizens	55,000	Most in Germany, but 11,000 in France
Italians	35,000	Half of them in France
Greeks	33,000	22,000 in Albania
Czechs	25,000	In France, Austria, Germany, and 3,000 in Palestine
Western Europeans	15,000	Most in Germany and Italy
Others	116,000	

With only the wartime experience as a guide UNRRA set about the immense task of sorting out the refugees and deciding what could be done with them, feeding and housing them in the meantime. Mistakes were made. UNRRA was widely criticized for offering too little too late with personnel too poorly trained. About half the people working in the projects were from the voluntary agencies, which provided more experienced and carefully trained personnel. In spite of difficulties and limitations related to military origin, the work of repatriation was rapidly carried forward. Of the seven million needing repatriation at

¹¹ Chart in Proudfoot, pp. 238-39.

the end of the war less than two million remained by fall of 1945. Most of these were in centers in west Germany. Makeshift quarters were provided over the first winter, some in former military barracks and concentration camps, heated with sheet metal stoves whose pipes went through window openings. Food shortage was a problem, but still the refugees were better off than the civilian population (or the German ethnic refugees). In the spring about 844,000 refugees were in displaced persons camps, the rest were in the Middle East and China.

Besides repatriation many other operations were carried on. One of the most difficult was the tracing of missing persons, which required painstaking care in countless individual cases. For example, two million Poles were missing. With the reduction in repatriations the problems of the "leftovers," about one and a half million of them at the end of 1945, came to the fore. Most of them were unrepatriable for one reason or another. They were eastern Europeans who were stranded by the various political changes their countries had undergone. UNRRA was in principle supposed to encourage repatriation and did so until it faced the problem of unrepatriables. It was not empowered, as IRO was, to negotiate with governments. But Fiorello H. La Guardia, the second director general, stretched his authority to make inquiries about possibilities for resettlement in other countries. Until the end of 1946, 8,250 people were resettled, in addition to the 100,000 Poles of General Anders' army who went to Great Britain. The IGCR was also limited by regulations and lack of funds.

Never was UNRRA thought of as other than a temporary device. At that time the refugee problem was regarded as one of several aftereffects of the war, similar to the problem of clearing out the rubble of destroyed cities. After a while it would go away and UNRRA would no longer be needed. Two factors forced a change in attitude: (1) the remainder of an apparently irreducible "hard core" of unrepatriable and unresettleable refugees, and (2) the continuing flow of new refugees, now principally from the countries of eastern Europe, which were already building an "iron curtain." Shortly after the end of the war it was realized that refugees would be around for a long time. This line of thought led to the formation of the International Refugee Organization, constituted by vote of the General Assembly of the United Nations 15 December 1946. This action was preceded by a lengthy and sometimes acrimonious debate over the issue of repatriation versus resettlement. Russia particularly was opposed to free resettlement of displaced persons who were clearly citizens of one country. Repatriation should be the ideal for all except legally stateless persons. The Constitution of the IRO was therefore

somewhat vague on specific programs. An attempted distinction was made between refugees (voluntary emigrants) and displaced persons (involuntary deportees). War criminals and German ethnic refugees were specifically excluded. The Russian arguments, strongly promoted in the Third Committee of the United Nations, were that, after simple repatriation had been arranged between the country of origin and the country of refuge, no other refugees deserved protection; they were presumably all war criminals or other undesirable characters.¹² The vote on the Constitution was thirty in favor, five opposed, eighteen abstentions.

In spite of the protracted difficulties in debate, the document did provide, although vaguely at certain points, for repatriation, local settlement, and resettlement. IRO, like UNRRA, officially encouraged repatriation, but it was not obligated to support forcible repatriation of individuals who feared return to their country of origin. It helped refugees who wanted to make a new start by resettling them, sometimes overseas in distant lands. It was specifically empowered to negotiate with governments to this end. It also promoted the local settlement and assimilation of certain groups of refugees, like old people and orphaned children, who were not candidates for either repatriation or resettlement. The first official session of the General Council did not take place until September of 1948, by which time the organization was deep in its work. A Preparatory Committee carried on the activities during the difficult transition from expiring UNRRA to prenatal IRO. An original date for termination of IRO was 30 June 1950, the idea persisting that the "temporary" refugee problem should be "wrapped up" by that time. Presently the terminal date was extended to 30 September 1951, and finally to 1 March 1952. The actual process of liquidation of IRO cases spilled over into 1953. By then no one was surprised to discover that the refugee problem was still present.

As IRO took over full responsibility it found itself burdened with approximately a million and a half refugees, in three groups: (1) 713,000 individuals in camps receiving full care, (2) 366,000 out of camp receiving partial care, and (3) all the separate Nansen and other stateless refugees receiving only legal aid. By far the most numerous were Poles. An analysis done in 1948 indicated that 22.4 percent were under fourteen years old, 77.2 percent were between fourteen and sixty-five, and 0.4 percent were over sixty-five. (The total German population, in comparison, showed 24.3 percent, 66.9 percent, and 8.8 percent respectively.) The birth rate, as indicated by the presence of a large number of very young

¹² Holborn, pp. 29 ff., gives full details of the complicated maneuvers which finally resulted in the Constitution of the IRO.

children, was 31.9 percent, as compared to the German average of 7.1 percent. The proportion of women between eighteen and forty-four was extraordinarily high, and there were many more men than women (37.2 percent women compared with 55.5 percent in the German population). "Thus it was a population at the height of fertility and potential strength, although mainly destitute and physically impaired by ill-treatment, hard labour, and bad living conditions."¹³ There was a large proportion of skilled labor (38.6 percent) and a low proportion of agricultural workers (22.3 percent). One factor here was the tendency of professional groups to register as skilled labor rather than under their professions in the hope of circumventing restrictions against resettlement of professionals. Even so, 12.5 percent, a large proportion, were registered as professional. According to the detailed breakdown, 9.1 percent were strictly professional, 6.3 percent clerical and sales, 3.5 percent domestic service, 18.5 percent skilled manufacturing, 22.3 percent agricultural, 11.4 percent no work experience.¹⁴ These cold figures spell out a sub-tragedy sometimes lost in the mass tragedy—that of the forty thousand or more intellectuals and professionals who found it especially hard to obtain admission in countries in which the professions were dominated by tight rigid professional societies dedicated to self-interest.¹⁵

In dealing with these people IRO followed three main principles: (1) Refugees should be helped to return home if they wished; (2) they should be provided with full and impartial information about conditions attending their repatriation; (3) the refugees themselves should make the decision for or against repatriation without pressure or threat. In this situation IRO was much stronger than UNRRA had been; it was free of military control and relatively independent of national pressures. Its power to negotiate directly with governments for resettlement opened viable alternatives to repatriation or degeneration in camps. In pursuance of its directives repatriation was facilitated for 73,000 persons, most of whom went home within three years of the end of war. Presumably all these people made free decisions in full possession of the facts of life in the countries of origin. Inevitably some disappointments and injustices occurred; but these IRO was not able to avoid or rectify.

On the other hand, many more refugees chose resettlement. Altogether, in four and a half years about 1,038,000 persons were resettled, over fourteen times as many as those who elected repatriation. The really new aspect of this mass movement was planned and organized migration,

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 190.

¹⁴ Proudfoot, p. 421.

¹⁵ See the semidocumentary novel by Kathryn Hulme, *Wild Place*.

carried on by an international body in cooperation with participating governments. Three different channels of movement were developed: (1) migrations through governmental selection plans, (2) migrations through individual nomination by sponsors in the country of resettlement; and (3) migrations through work of IRO directly in placing refugees according to qualifications. In any case considerable paper work gave witness to the complications involved in fulfilling requirements of the country from which the migration took place, in opening opportunities in countries of resettlement, in fulfilling immigration requirements, and in providing transportation.¹⁶ The subsequent tasks of settlement and assimilation went beyond the scope of IRO. At the height of the operations fifty national resettlement missions were working in eighteen "Resettlement Processing Centers," located in Germany, Austria, and Italy.

The role of the sixty voluntary agencies which participated in this massive operation is discussed in another chapter. During the IRO period they furnished between one-fifth and one-fourth of the personnel, who had a direct influence especially at two points: personal concern with individuals and identification of new areas of need and new methods of operation by IRO itself. Furthermore, the efforts on the home fronts in the countries of resettlement, publicizing opportunities and encouraging sponsors, were of inestimable value. Whatever else they did, the voluntary groups gave to the sprawling governmental organization a conscience.

Although some of the work of IRO was located in the Near and Far East, by far the largest focus was Europe. Not only did most of the refugees live there, but many of them were resettled in Europe itself. Great Britain took 86,000 from Austria and the British zone of Germany. France took 38,000 from Austria and Germany. Belgium took 18,000 from the United States zone of Germany. The Netherlands and Sweden each took 4,000.¹⁷ Some of these were "rejects" who had no opportunity to migrate overseas. Some were persons who with relative ease settled in the country of first refuge, either independently or with IRO assistance. Still others, after waiting a long time for overseas resettlement without any visible progress, gave up and accepted resettlement nearby. Especially as the cutoff dates in 1951 and 1952 neared did many refugees find it expedient to change their plans.

Unfortunately not all of the persons living in camps were able to change plans, or even to make them. As the IRO came close to its date

¹⁶ Holborn, pp. 368 ff., discusses these procedures.

¹⁷ See the full charts in *ibid.*, pp. 433-36.

of termination, it became increasingly clear that, through no fault of the operation, the refugee problem would by no means be solved. New refugees were coming in every month, and there was the "hard core." No one could ignore the fact that, through all the work of UNRRA and IRO, certain refugees found themselves again and again rejected for resettlement while they became more and more adamantly opposed to repatriation. The mere fact of remaining long in a refugee status could be interpreted as disloyalty to the country of origin. If repatriation had been possible in the beginning, it was now impossible. Equally impossible was resettlement when no country would accept them. In the course of liquidation IRO transferred care of these unfortunates to the governments of the countries in which they resided. The process began in mid-1950 but continued for over a year as IRO expired piecemeal. Metropolitan France, including Algeria, still had almost 200,000 guests of all kinds. But the difficulties of assuming care for the leftovers were greatest in Germany, Austria, and Italy, which all along had been carrying the heavy burden of ethnic "ex-enemy" expellees who never had come under the aegis of the international organizations. The job was accomplished by moving them from one zone or territory to another to equalize the burden. Altogether about 100,000 were officially transferred from the hands of IRO to the various European governments concerned.

Who were these leftover castaways? Medical cases—people suffering from incurable or communicable disease. Cripples—people who could not get around by themselves or who could not work for a living. Old people—too senile for independent activity or just plain old. Women without husbands but with children. Professional and highly educated individuals—people who would wish to make a professional or educational contribution to the country of settlement, not just labor in any job. Individuals who had become caught in the mesh of legal requirements without records of nationality or with records of criminal activity. Plus all their families and dependents. Orphans. IRO made several special appeals for acceptance of some of these hard-core cases. Norway was the first to respond with an offer to take two hundred, including some blind. Belgium and other countries offered to take more. Israel, with a special interest in immigration of Jews, took the largest number, including tuberculosis and mental cases. A plan was developed for dispersal of the hard core in small groups. Here of course the voluntary Christian and Jewish agencies were indispensable. The National Catholic Welfare Conference, the Lutheran World Federation, and the World Council of Churches, especially in their German forms of activity—*Caritas*, *Innere*

Mission, and *Evangelisches Hilfswerk*—were directly involved in the care and settlement of these refugees no one wanted.

The case of the children was pathetic. "Unaccompanied children" was the term used to describe their condition and need. They were simply kids scattered in the violence of war and postwar persecution. Some were truly orphans. The rest might just as well have been. A tremendous task was undertaken to locate and identify, if possible, these children and bring them back, if possible, to their families. In west Germany alone in 1946 were 8,616 children under eighteen known to be "unaccompanied." Of these 1,188 were under six; 3,865 were six to fourteen. These figures included only *non-German* children. One wonders why children too had to be divided into different groups according to the care to which they were entitled. By 1947 most of the war children had been taken care of by UNRRA as follows: 2,703 repatriated, 1,889 resettled, 1,016 reunited with their families, and 7,135 still under care. The latter became the responsibility of IRO. Every year more children, in smaller numbers, continued to straggle into refuge.

The enormous body of detail in the innumerable situations and movements goes beyond the scope of this history. The details, especially as of the years 1950–51, are admirably marshaled in the great statistical work of Jacques Vernant, sponsored by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees and the Rockefeller Foundation.

When IRO came to an end, the United Nations provided for the establishment of a High Commissioner for Refugees, reminiscent of the older League of Nations office which went by the same name. Formal establishment came at the end of 1951, and Dr. G. J. van Heuven Goedhart, from the Netherlands, was appointed first High Commissioner. The original purpose of this office was the legal protection of the refugees, principally in Europe, left over from IRO. In 1951 there were about a half-million such in Europe, one-third of them in camps. Five thousand exiles in Shanghai, China, also came under the High Commissioner's mandate. On the average still about twenty thousand new refugees were coming into western Europe each year, plus some ten thousand into Greece. Although the chief responsibility of the UNHCR was legal protection, the office was inevitably involved, directly or indirectly, in problems of care and resettlement. From 1951 through 1964 almost 33,000 were resettled from camps and 48,000 from outside camps. From 1955 through 1963 about 140,000 received help. UNHCR specifically excluded all refugees who were under direct care by nations, those under care of other UN organizations like UNKRA (Korea) and UNRWA (Arab),

and war criminals.¹⁸ The High Commissioner, unlike IRO, had no funds of his own for operation of refugee camps or programs of resettlement. Certain voluntary contributions could be used for operations, especially those carried on by voluntary agencies.

Another international body, of long standing (1919), was the International Labor Organization. It has been especially effective in the areas of statistics, study of labor conditions, vocational training, and employment of professionally trained refugees.

Another organization, which came into being about the same time as the UNHCR, was the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration. As its name indicates, the scope of ICEM went beyond the problem of refugees per se to deal with the transfer and balancing of population in Europe by facilitating migration from thickly occupied lands (Austria, West Germany, Greece, Italy, the Netherlands) to areas in which their contributions could be more readily accepted. Inevitably, however, the needs of refugees, who constituted much of the heavier concentration, came into consideration. In many ways ICEM continued the activities of IRO. This was the case in its use of the large transport facilities developed by IRO. The new body was established, largely for political reasons, outside the framework of the United Nations and was supported by most of the free nations of the world. Out of a total of 1,300,000 migrants resettled by ICEM, over a half-million were refugees. In the year 1964 plans were afoot for resettlement of more than seventy thousand, of whom about half were refugees.

This list by no means covers the devices for care of homeless people. Special organizations, some of them national in character, have taken effective part from time to time. One of the most active is the United States Escapee Program, which from 1952 has sought to rescue and resettle persons who flee Communist countries. It is operated under the Department of State. Working closely with ICEM, it has helped many thousands to find a new home.

Various categories of refugees inherited from earlier upheavals continued to constitute a problem and to receive help. There were the Russians who had lived in exile, in and out of camps, some ever since the Revolution. Nearly twenty thousand were still in camps in 1946. Some Russians had lived for a long time in Yugoslavia, but they were expelled again in 1949. Most of the out-of-camp Russians were living as aliens in France. There were the Spanish victims of the war which

¹⁸ A systematic analysis of the various governmental agencies is in Vernant, pp. 24-53.

brought Francisco Franco to power in the 1930's. Most of these had fled across the Pyrenees into France, where 200,000 remained after World War II. Several thousand were resettled elsewhere by IGCR, and more thousands by IRO, especially in Argentina and Venezuela, where they would not face a language problem. Some of the remainder returned irregularly to Spain as the Franco regime settled down. Enough, however, continued to stream north across the mountains to add to the burden France was carrying all along. Many eventually were permanently assimilated into the population, some in southern France, which shared something of the Mediterranean culture, others in Algeria, where they lived to be uprooted again in the struggles for independence in that colony. Still another separate movement began in 1950, when almost three-quarters of a million Turks were expelled from Bulgaria. This expulsion was similar to that of the ethnic Germans northward and westward from Slavic lands of the Danube.¹⁹

Yet nothing specific has been said of one of the great mass movements of modern times, and one of the most dramatic as well as controversial, the migration of European Jews to Palestine. The main story belongs in the chapter on the Near East. Here note is taken of the European origins of the migration. One major difference is apparent: Whereas most non-Jewish refugees of modern times looked always backward with longing to the home from which they had been driven, the Jews with one accord looked forward to the home they were about to build. The tremendous forces of Zionism have played a major role in the movements of Jews in Europe. Another special consideration is the role of the British government, which was most equivocal. At the outset it was the Balfour Declaration of World War I that laid the foundations for a national homeland for the Jews. The British were active and sympathetic in liberation of Jews from the noisome concentration camps of World War II, but they were adamant in prohibiting free immigration of Jews into Palestine, over which they exercised powers of mandate. All too soon, understandably, the Jews forgot the former favor in the face of the present opposition. So they blew up the British in the King David Hotel. Our concern at this point, however, is with the European, not the Palestinian, side.

At the end of the war those Jews who had survived the exterminations of Hitler were starving in the concentration camps. Some came out of hiding in forests and mountains of Germany and Austria. In Italy they had been protected in private homes, sometimes by priests. By definition

¹⁹ Information on this is in Proudfoot, p. 436.

all Jews of enemy nations were automatically considered refugees entitled to international help. Other Jewish refugees were regarded as part of the different nationality groups. This meant, for example, that a Danish Jewish refugee, a Danish Gentile refugee, and a German Jewish refugee were all treated alike. Partly because of the universal revulsion against the Nazi policy of extermination, and partly because of world Zionist pressure, Jewish refugees came to enjoy in some ways a privileged position.²⁰ The Zionist element is easily discerned in such documents as the report made by Earl G. Harrison to President Truman in 1945: "The only real solution of the problem lies in the quick evacuation of all non-repatriable Jews in Germany and Austria, who wish it, to Palestine. . . ." ²¹ It seems that in the American zone of Germany particularly, the Jews were separated from other refugees and accorded special treatment, including somewhat better rations. Here also uncounted thousands of Jews slipped in from other areas of Europe to take advantage of the support granted and the opportunities given for transport to Palestine. On the contrary the British, who faced the problem at the other end in Palestine, strictly prevented infiltration in the British zone and actively discouraged plans for emigration to Palestine. In west Germany the number of Jews under care rose from 20,000 in 1945, to 70,000 in February 1946, to 106,000 in July 1946, and to 174,000 in November 1946. Especially in the American zone Jewish political organizations worked for Palestine emigration. This goal was not bad in itself. The problem arose when Zionist organizations used international programs intended for the care of refugees for the furtherance of national aims in Palestine. Both British and American authorities recognized that there were few opportunities for resettlement of Jews outside Europe anywhere else than Palestine. And those desiring resettlement amounted altogether to about three-quarters of a million. Most of the Jews in west Germany, Austria, and Italy migrated to Palestine. By 1950 only 39,000 were left, half of whom were expecting resettlement in the United States and Canada.

At first the governments of eastern Europe permitted, even encouraged, migration to Palestine. But about 1950, when it became apparent that Israel was not about to join the Soviet block, restrictions were imposed. Many persons continued to go anyway, illegally if necessary. Over forty thousand left Romania in 1951. Still three million Jews remained in Communist countries of eastern Europe.

The rest of the story of the Jewish refugees belongs to the larger story

²⁰ This matter is discussed in *ibid.*, pp. 324 ff.

²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

of the creation of the new nation, Israel, which in turn produced one of the greatest refugee movements of the twentieth century, that of the Arabs displaced to make room for the immigrants from Europe.

C. The Hungarian Revolution

History sometimes plays strange tricks. Now and then an otherwise unpretentious and insignificant place will be tossed onto the center of the world's stage, the focus of attention for a brief moment. It will then disappear again but will never be the same. So it was with Sarajevo in 1914. So it was with Canossa in 1076. So it was with Andau in 1956. For a few weeks history was written in that little Austrian village close by the Hungarian border, as pathetic thousands of refugees suddenly poured out of the revolution-torn state. The school which served as one of the receiving stations will never be the same. For that matter the Methodist church in Vienna will never be the same. An unexpected mass refugee movement unique in several respects permanently marked the places caught in the middle, as it also marked all the people involved.

Tensions mounted in the Communist-ruled state of Hungary after the conclusion of World War II. The long tradition of struggle against foreign domination, German or Slavic, led to the revolt of 1956 against Russian control. It came as a shock to the Communist world, which could not believe that the young people, so carefully nurtured in the Marxist ideology, should be the leaders of a "counterrevolutionary" movement determined to reject Russian control and revive the free democratic life of which Hungarians had long dreamed and been deprived. Contrary to all expectations in eastern Europe, the young people took the lead in revolt, attacked the Russian tanks with gasoline bombs, and shook Communist prestige around the world.

Hungarians had already tasted the bitter fruits of exile. Upward of a million had been displaced during the second world war.²² Although most had been quickly repatriated, still in 1947 some 23,000 were still living as displaced persons in the United States zone of Germany. Not all of these could be described as truly refugees. IRO reported a total of about 63,000 Hungarians (including Jews) resettled between 1947 and 1951. Some individuals left of their own accord; others were deported. Thus the revolution of 1956 came as the culmination of a long process of disillusionment and frustration. It exploded with a violence and

²² Vernant, p. 70.

ferocity that temporarily left the Communist government of Hungary and the Russian military forces helpless. For a few days it almost seemed that the revolution was going to be a success and that Russia would accept the inevitable. Only people with long experience, their ears close to the ground, got out while the going was good. At least those who were accustomed to consulting their own interests first did so. They knew that a revolution in a satellite of Russia could go on only up to a certain point. Perhaps a change like that in Poland, with limited goals, could take place. But Prime Minister Imre Nagy was going too far. Not only did he plan autonomous status for Hungary within the circle of Communist-oriented satellites, but he appeared to be going along with the revolutionary zeal for full democratic independence, including free elections in which the Communists might even lose. As a result of the confusion in revolutionary Budapest the Russian forces were withdrawn 30 October 1956. But two days later Mikoyan arrived unannounced from Moscow and proceeded to replace Nagy with Janos Kádár as prime minister. And on 4 November massive units of Russian soldiers, together with thousands of tanks, moved back into Budapest and proceeded to reestablish control by the most violent methods.²³

Although the great Battle of Budapest continued for several days, almost immediately refugees began pouring over the border into Austria, and a little later into Yugoslavia. One of the key locations was the area near the village of Andau, in the extreme eastern part of Burgenland, the romantic Austrian "land of castles." Most of this province is relatively flat and some of it is low lying. Especially swampy was the border region near Andau.²⁴ It lay in a salient with Hungarian territory to both east and south. About five miles away, connected with the border by a narrow road, was the village, a tiny collection of houses, with a school. The Einser Canal ran along the border to the south, both banks in Hungarian territory. The border then turned sharply north a few hundred yards west of the famous bridge which spanned the canal on its eastward course through Hungary. Persons who crossed the bridge, there-

²³ Most of the books dealing with the Hungarian revolution are too close to the event and subject to journalistic and nationalistic distortions. They are still valuable as source materials. Such are George Mikes, *Hungarian Revolution*, and James A. Michener, *Bridge at Andau*. More useful for study of the refugee movement are reports by church agencies, such as Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, and Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*.

²⁴ A fine description, together with a map, is in Michener, pp. 197 ff. Even in the mid-1960's the area, as I found by personal inspection, shows the difficulties faced by persons who tried, sometimes under fire, to cross the canal or the little footbridge and to wade through great swamps on both sides of the border seeking the road to Andau, about five miles away.

fore, had still a little space to cover before they arrived in Austria. During the great exodus the government maintained an intermittent guard at the bridge. One of the mysteries of the revolution is the failure of either the Communist government of Hungary or the Russian military authorities to maintain a tight guard on this particular point. At one time refugees had to hide and wander through frightening swamps to escape the guns of the guards. At another time they could openly cross the bridge singing songs and parade across the border. All who witnessed the migration and who helped as guides testify to the courage of small groups who plowed through the difficult marshy terrain in the cold autumn weather, foot-weary and scared, determined at all costs to stand on free land. The Austrian government, overwhelmed by this inundation of foreigners, did what it could to help, never closing the border but leaving it open at considerable peril to itself, the responsible authority for a country only recently freed from Russian occupation after World War II. A confusing array of workers set up a sort of plan for rescuing lost refugees and receiving them for emergency care. There were government officials, university students, local townspeople and farmers, representatives of voluntary and religious agencies, especially the World Council of Churches, and agents of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees. The latter office was able to bring some order to the confusion and proved its importance not only for long-term legal protection but for short-term emergency action. Part of the trouble, of course, was the persistence of the view that the refugee problem was something that could be dealt with and wrapped up. The Hungarian exodus proved otherwise. IRO was dead. UNHCR did not have proper powers for emergency action. The immediate land of first refuge, Austria, was quite unable to cope with the huge human flood. International action, and that direct and immediate, was required. With startling rapidity the nations improvised emergency means which saved the day. For once the thousands of refugees were mostly whipped out of the land of first refuge and resettled quickly before they could become another sorry "refugee problem" languishing in camps.

After transfer through Andau (and other lesser points of entry) the people were taken to processing centers in Vienna, Salzburg, and Graz. For a relatively brief period they lived in camps and temporary quarters until they could be registered and sent on for resettlement. One of the most interesting arrangements for temporary housing was in the little Methodist church on Sechshauser Strasse in Vienna. In this unpretentious building in a poorer section of town, looking not at all like a church from

the street side in deference to the strong Roman Catholic traditions of the city, the Methodist community of Vienna worshiped. When the call came and the need was clarified, the pews were piled in the chancel and the entire sanctuary was turned into a barracks for refugees. In November at one time 150 people were living in the church. Altogether, between November and May over 450 found shelter there. Nowadays the sparkling remodeled sanctuary possesses only a memory of the hectic days during which the place was transformed into a refugee camp. Only in the experience of those who rested here and the life of Fräulein Bargmann, church worker and director of the new *Studentinnenheim*, does the episode which drew the little church into the middle of one of the most violent spasms of human history still live. Presently the boys were sent on to Linz and the girls housed in the Methodist *Studentinnenheim*. This is just one example of the expedients employed to help the Hungarian refugees survive their ordeal.²⁵

Many of them barely made it. Some almost drowned in the canal. Others had to dodge Communist bullets. Some arrived barefoot with torn and frozen feet. Others were blue with exposure. Some got lost in the swamps and wandered till rescued by enterprising student bands. On the other hand, one young man escaped by calmly walking down the main direct pathway in broad daylight carrying his rifle. All kinds of people joined the exodus, but outstanding was the percentage of young people. Here were few weaklings, overaged, diseased. Most were the vigorous young, single men and girls, young married couples with babies, students and promising professional leaders. Five hundred students from the university at Sopron fled, together with thirty-two professors and their families. The members of three gypsy orchestras, the first ballerina of the Budapest Opera, most of the members of both Budapest symphony orchestras, athletes, trained engineers and scientists, skilled workers from the factories of Csepel—these were the components of the movement.

The flow continued through November and reached a high point at Andau on 21 November. But people continued to stream over the border one way or another throughout the winter. Many crossed southward into Yugoslavia instead of going west into Austria.²⁶ In the early days thousands were coming over every night. More than ten thousand arrived

²⁵ Chandler, p. 168, has a photo of the church in use as a refugee center.

²⁶ Michener is wrong (p. 228) in stating that only five hundred went to Yugoslavia. Actually this was the number left after over sixteen thousand had gone on for resettlement and almost three thousand had returned home.

within the first thirty-six hours.²⁷ By mid-December 180,000 had come, plus 19,000 who went to Yugoslavia. On 7 December Roland Elliott wrote from the Austrian frontier,

Last night some 2,800 refugees crossed over to Austria and safety. By some mysterious intuition or advance grapevine intelligence, the Red Cross and Church workers on the Austrian side were prepared for their coming; they expected 1000 at this point. Fresh straw on the barracks floor awaited them. Great laundry baskets of bread thick-spread with peanut butter, soup and hot milk were ready; and dry wool socks—many were so tired and stiff from the cold that the socks had to be put on for them. And then they fell into the straw as close as interlaced fingers to sleep or to lie open-eyed, too exhausted and too thought-filled and excited to close their eyes.²⁸

One of the unique aspects of the Hungarian episode was the rapidity with which people were resettled and the small number left homeless in camps. Of those who found sanctuary in Austria, 157,000 emigrated, 8,000 returned to Hungary, and only 15,000 remained for a long time in Austria, the country of first refuge. Of those in Yugoslavia, 16,500 emigrated, less than 3,000 returned to Hungary, and 550 remained in Yugoslavia.²⁹ Many were accepted for immigration to the United States under extraordinary provisions which permitted use of “unused” Austrian quotas and “parole” under authority of the attorney general. Consular authorities worked around the clock in Salzburg and Vienna to facilitate the rapid transport to America. The Army Air Force carried planeload after planeload to the quickly arranged Joyce Kilmer Reception Center, set up in an army barracks near New Brunswick, New Jersey. The first plane arrived on 21 November 1956. By the beginning of the year there were 8,066 refugees at the camp, beset with all the frustrations and problems inevitable in so large a movement so quickly set up. Much criticism was leveled at the manner of handling the cases. At the time the most important factor was quick action. The processing at Camp Kilmer continued until May 1957. The role of the United States was impressive considering the persistent hamstrings of the immigration

²⁷ Chandler, p. 39; CWS, *Knock and It Shall Be Opened Unto You*, p. 45.

²⁸ *Knock and It Shall Be Opened*, p. 46. Michener in his book-length account is able to tell the whole story from his point of view without a single mention of the tremendous effort carried on by the churches in response to this challenge—except for one aside reference (p. 254) concerning the problem of refugees who were divorced, a most insignificant issue. It is difficult to account for this naïveté and prejudice in an otherwise lively and informed narrative.

²⁹ Figures are from Rees, pp. 3–4.

laws. But it did not in many ways measure up to the challenge or meet the need. There is still a wide difference between the free welcome extended the 200,000 Hungarians by little and poor Austria, situated cheek by jowl with the iron curtain countries, only recently freed from Russian occupation, and the more distant assistance of the powerful United States, half a world away from real danger. For all the generosity and sacrificial effort demonstrated by some, it is sobering to reflect that the United States was among the nations of the world which witnessed without any direct effort to preserve justice the brutal subjugation of Hungary and the suppression of her revolution.

And unjust was the whole affair. Not only was the flicker of freedom snuffed out, but heavy oppression followed. Hungarian patriots fought until it was hopeless to continue. Refugee movements westward were balanced by deportations eastward. The people forcibly moved out were refugees, albeit involuntary ones. Henry Cabot Lodge reported in the United Nations, 19 November 1956, that around sixteen thousand had been thus taken to Russia.³⁰

Elfan Rees discerns five lessons taught by the Hungarian crisis.³¹ (1) There is no such thing as an end, or final settlement, of the refugee problem. It is rather endemic to the twentieth century and will be with us as long as the present state of civilization endures. (2) Countries of first refuge cannot handle the problem alone. In this extreme case little Austria was called upon to look after a flood of people from neighboring Hungary, at overwhelming cost. The bill at the end of 1957 came to \$17,315,195. Yugoslavia's costs were \$7,549,670. More remote (geographically) countries are always in a position to give financial help even though they might be repelled at the thought of actually accepting settlers. (3) Active concern for displaced people is easily dissipated. In spite of the rapidity of moving and settling the Hungarians many thousands were finally left stranded, to be looked after by the original host government as best it could. A more enduring plan of action would have solved, not the refugee problem, but this particular crisis of the problem. (4) On the other hand, a given problem such as this, specific in scope, time, and area of need, can be solved, given the necessary good will and determination. In the Hungarian case one specific was the relatively large number of active, healthy youth, adaptable and easily assimilated. This was characteristic of the whole revolution. The amusing instance is given

³⁰ Mikes, p. 171.

³¹ Rees, pp. 49-52.

of a nine-year-old boy who presented a problem in parental discipline. His age was carefully checked when he came over at Andau with his mother. She had disciplined him at first because he stayed out all night long during the revolutionary turmoil in Budapest. "But mother," he explained, "I've been blowing up tanks." How can you spank a child, his mother asked, who has been blowing up tanks? ³² Youth helped in the resettlement because these people neatly fitted what the receiving countries most wanted. The problem is altogether different with groups who obviously would be a burden on the economy. (5) Facilities for international control of migrations must be permanent and always available. Where will the next crisis develop? Africa? Indonesia? Bulgaria? The problem will never go away so long as the cold war remains a fact of life in the twentieth century.

D. World Refugee Year

In the spring of 1958 a suggestion appeared in the British quarterly *Crossbow* that the governments of the world join in a concerted effort to find solutions to the refugee problems. Here, apparently, was planted the seed which developed into the World Refugee Year of 1959-60. Throughout, British participation was outstanding. Even as late as the 1950's, after all the work of UNRRA, of IRO, of national programs and individual efforts, of settlement of most of the Hungarians, there was still an obstinate series of problems which defied solution, both in Europe and around the world. In this chapter our concern remains chiefly with the European aspects. The United Nations placed itself squarely behind the World Refugee Year and authorized the High Commissioner to engage in direct plans for implementing the international effort. His office set for itself four goals: (1) camp clearance in Europe, (2) resettlement of hard-core cases living outside camps, (3) resettlement of Russians from China, (4) aid to the Chinese refugees of Hong Kong.³³ The mandate of the UNHCR was appropriately broadened through the concept of "good offices," whereby the needs of refugees who technically remained outside the legal mandate might be considered. The UNHCR reported that in April 1959 the distribution of refugees in Europe was as follows:³⁴

³² Michener, p. 205.

³³ Norman Bentwich, "After World Refugee Year," *Contemporary Review*, CXCVIII (1960), 590.

³⁴ Rees, p. 60.

Austria	55,000	Netherlands	13,000
Belgium	65,500	Norway	3,300
Denmark	2,400	Sweden	31,000
France	295,000	Switzerland	20,000
West Germany	213,000	United Kingdom	179,000
Greece	15,600	Other countries	4,000
Italy	20,000		
Luxembourg	1,900	Total	918,700

At the end of the year, as World Refugee Year got under way, only a relatively few were actually unsettled without substantial income, about 105,000. Of these only 21,000 were living in camps; the other 84,000 were "out-of-camp refugees."³⁵ The figures do not include non-European groups under UNHCR mandate nor any outside the mandate.

For once here was a concerted assault by all forces, in the hope, not of "solving" the refugee problem, but rather of clearing up the long-standing obstinate features. Under sponsorship of the United Nations many countries made special contributions and relaxed the limitations on immigration. The voluntary and religious organizations were invited to make special efforts in their areas of concern. In fact the WCC Commission of the Churches on International Affairs was quite active in enthusiastic support and planning. In the end ninety-seven nations participated, along with about eighty voluntary agencies. Strong financial assistance was provided through unprecedented public grants. Much of the work was coordinated through the office of the UNHCR.

One of the most difficult situations was the residue of camp dwellers left over from years of work for repatriation and resettlement. A program for camp clearance had been started back in 1954 and had made some progress but failed for lack of funds to end the job. The camp population went down slowly from 1957 through 1959, but the last cases were also the hardest. About two-thirds of the 21,000 inhabitants remaining had been there for over ten years. In some cases individual groups "sponsored" the closing of a particular camp, providing funds for liquidation of the facilities and for resettlement of inhabitants. More and more, however, the clearing of camps boiled down to solution of individual cases, persons or families. No one expected that camps would disappear altogether. As long as refugees continued to arrive reception centers would be needed. The idea was rather to eliminate the features that

³⁵ United Nations, *Liquidation of Residual Refugee Problem in Europe* (Office of Public Information #48, reprinted from *United Nations Review*, VII, No. 3, Sept. 1960).

permitted the continuation over long periods of time of residence in camps in a state of dependency. A relatively few camps would continue to serve as reception centers in which new refugees could be registered and processed for repatriation, resettlement, or local assimilation. Many refugee camps were ended by the construction of permanent apartments for housing former refugees who now had work. West Germany, yearning for the healing of the sores of society occasioned by the presence of so many refugee camps, proceeded with a camp clearance project directed toward closing most of the temporary establishments for German refugees (who all along remained a responsibility of the Germans themselves). Most of the German refugees remaining in Austria already had work. Hence the problem there was largely one of providing better housing, such as the large project just outside the busy industrial city of Linz. Inevitably there remained a residue of the residue, even after the effort of World Refugee Year. I visited several German and Austrian camps in 1965, some of them still burdened with long-term residents. More and more, however, camps became reception centers rather than permanent dwellings.

In the area of housing, as in other aspects of World Refugee Year, the participation of the churches was large and active.³⁰ One excellent example is the provision of permanent housing for hundreds of refugees in Greece, a poor country which had been struggling with the problem for many years. Some of the camp inhabitants were left over from movements of the 1920's! Gifts from the churches of Great Britain, Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland to the WCC program made possible the construction of sixty-eight houses for 350 people in rural areas of Macedonia and Epirus. When families were settled in the new houses, the Greek government provided funds for starting them in farming with tools, animals, and the necessary land. Christopher King, in reporting this success, was careful to note that hundreds of people were still living in mud huts under strenuous circumstances.

Another WCC housing project is at Enns, Austria, where terrible camps had drawn out suffering over many years. On public land sold for half its market value by the city government the WCC built a large \$80,000 building which shelters thirty-two families—eighty-four people. In this case not only the churches and local government, but also the United States Escapee Program (USEP) cooperated. Often, however,

³⁰ The role of the churches is reported in WCC DICASR, *A Time of Compassion* (Geneva, 1961). Although discussion of the special relation of the churches to work with refugees belongs properly in ch. 37, some aspects are discussed here because the role in World Refugee Year was so large.

WCC money, and that of other voluntary groups like Lutheran World Service, went for help to families whose needs could best be met on an individual basis. There are always so many individual cases which do not fit into a general program, no matter how well devised.

The same consideration holds true of other individual needs. Whereas public programs must be planned for service of masses of people, the funds of the churches could be well spent in supplying specific small needs which would help a man get a start—tools, some land, a business location, a loan for equipment, etc. Much of what is said here about the participation of the Christian churches in the World Refugee Year applies to the wider role discussed in Chapter 37.

Some families and individuals have been able to escape the deadly paralysis of prolonged camp life by settling on their own outside the camps. Out-of-camp persons greatly outnumbered those who remained in camp during the year. Their housing was not very good and their income was small—but both were their own. They needed help, but they had already proved they were able and willing to help themselves.³⁷ They escaped the contagion of camp psychosis, which drains the energy and independence from people shut in and supported year after year. Some could be helped to emigrate, but for most the best solution was assistance in more satisfactory settlement and work in the country of refuge. This meant again housing at low rent. Special help was needed for the many handicapped persons, suffering from tuberculosis or physically crippled—about 31,000 people in Europe. The program to help the out-of-camp refugees, not so immediate or so dramatic as the clearing away of camps, languished during most of World Refugee Year. Nevertheless, the plans were laid and some funds were collected to make a start.

Another ultimately perhaps more important result of World Refugee Year has been the opening of doors for immigration around the world. Publicity has led many nations to take a long serious look at their immigration policies. This tendency, part of the story of worldwide resettlement, has reached into the thinking of leaders in the United States, Australia, and several other countries.

Most of the harvest of World Refugee Year would come in after the but the real work followed. Even so, during the first half of 1960 the year was over. The programs were instituted and the funds were raised, population of the camps was reduced from 20,600 to 17,600, according to the report in progress by the UNHCR.³⁸ By 1963 only 1,900 were left.

³⁷ See United Nations pamphlet, *Refugees Living Out-of-Camp in Europe*.

³⁸ Ecumenical Press Service, 14 Oct. 1960.

Although few problems were finally solved, observers in general agreed that the total effort was a success, and workers in the field were much heartened at this evidence of continuing world concern. Too easily, when the emergency, the pressing need, the dramatic necessity, is gone, the world forgets. Not this time.

E. In Recent Years

In 1963 the United Nations voted to continue the office of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees for another five years, beginning 1 January 1964. Thus quietly the international organization recognized the fact that, for all the efforts of the World Refugee Year, there were still refugees around the world. Some were old, some were new. In a number of ways they were merged into an even broader problem, that of the migrant worker. More and more the refugee has become part of the migratory streams of contemporary civilization. About five million migrants were living and working in western Europe in 1963.³⁹ Just two years before the World Council of Churches had sponsored a major World Conference on Problems of International Migration and the Responsibility of the Churches, at Leysin, Switzerland, 11–16 June 1961.⁴⁰ Still, mixed up with migrants or not, they were refugees, and it was still possible to distinguish between a victim of political or religious persecution and a mobile worker. Throughout the early 1960's the Division of Inter-Church Aid, Refugee and World Service (DICARWS) of the World Council of Churches continued to devote most of its efforts to help for and resettlement of refugees, although these now might crop up in new places like Africa and Cuba.⁴¹ A survey of the situation of refugees in recent years can best be presented country by country, with special emphasis on points of tension such as Berlin and Athens.

From the start Great Britain, partly because of its insular location, was a haven. At the end of World War II the free Polish army had settled there en masse, almost a hundred thousand of them permanently. In the 1950's about a quarter-million exiles were living there.⁴² They were relatively well cared for in comfortable quarters with adequate food. Even so, some refugees complained about the formality and rigidity of

³⁹ *Inter-Church Aid Newsletter* (hereafter *Newsletter*), Aug. 1964, p. 9.

⁴⁰ WCC, *In a Strange Land*, the report of the meeting.

⁴¹ See WCC, *Many Churches One Service, Service in Unity, Rooted in Love*, the annual reports, as well as *Service Programme and List of Projects 1965*.

⁴² Vernant, p. 344.

the British character. Refugees have been known to demonstrate considerable rigidity of their own. Many Protestant refugees from central Europe and the Baltic countries chose England by preference. Most of them were either Lutheran or Orthodox. The Nansen Medal was given in 1964 to Dame May Curwen, founder and head of the British Council for Refugees, which has been busy settling families in Great Britain ever since 1950.⁴³

France has been even more famous as a haven. In 1950 it was giving sanctuary to between 350,000 and 400,000 refugees, most of them in the "statutory" category, identified by international conventions of which France was a party. These groups had been living in France for a long time and were partly assimilated. Others were displaced persons left over from World War II, Poles in exile, new refugees from eastern Europe. Following a live-and-let-live policy, France has not tried to Gallicize the various groups or to force them into a common mold. But many have in fact naturally adapted more easily than similar groups in England. CIMADE, the service agency of the Protestant and Orthodox churches of France, reported in 1965 its continuing work in reception, integration, employment, relief, and resettlement.⁴⁴

Germany, of course, remained one of the chief points of tension in Europe and one of the chief centers for movement of refugees. Ever since the chaos of war's end all German lands have experienced the inrush of refugees, both German and non-German. By 1960 most of the original problems of mass repatriation and resettlement had been solved, but the steady stream slipping from east to west persisted. Up to 1958 three and a half million had thus migrated. In the first half of 1959 fifty thousand came to West Berlin alone.⁴⁵ Then on 13 August 1961 the wall was built. The Communist government of East Berlin, increasingly embarrassed by the number who fled into West Berlin and the virtual non-existence of a movement in reverse, suddenly and without warning constructed a rough barrier topped by barbed wire and vicious broken glass which reached completely across Berlin. Only a few "checkpoints" were left open through which traffic might legally pass. Streets were bisected; tramlines and all other forms of communication were cut off; buildings were isolated or incorporated into the wall. Unter den Linden was sliced off just west of the monument. Many families were actually caught divided, some in East, some in West Berlin. When people jumped over

⁴³ *Newsletter*, Dec. 1964, p. 11.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, Mar. 1965, p. 10.

⁴⁵ These figures are from *World Almanac*, 1961; *Time*, 7 Apr. 1967, p. 25, reports three million before 1961.

the new wall, it was raised higher. When people looked over the wall at certain key points, the East Berlin authorities built a higher barrier to cut off vision. At one point, then, West Berlin constructed an observation tower which overtopped the barrier. Cemeteries were off limits along the wall, separated from West Berlin and prohibited to East Berliners. Manned watchtowers were built inside the wall to prevent escapes through cemeteries or along railroads, or through open fields left from the war's destruction. Along some stretches the wall was high and imposing, on others flimsy and low. It was pierced by canals and railroads, to say nothing of the subway. It turned and contorted along an illogical boundary, sometimes running down the middle of a street. Former neighbors no longer met. They lived in different worlds. Narrow alleys and broad boulevards alike were cut in half. The windows of buildings were bricked in as the structures became part of the wall.

Before long someone had smeared on the wall, "*Diese Schande muss weg!*" ("This shame must go!"). The wall, which had been erected for the protection of the citizens of East Germany, became an ugly symbol of the way of life on that side. And refugees continued to leave, now required to overcome greater obstacles and take greater chances. A newspaper report stated that 3,155 fled in 1964. Since it went up in 1961, 24,500 have got over the wall or come across outside Berlin. One hundred thirty-seven were known to have died trying to escape, sixty-three along the wall. Many others were caught. On the other hand, most old people were not willing to make a break with their past. Of almost 300,000 old people who visited West Germany only 220 requested asylum.⁴⁶

The stories of exciting escapes over, under, and through the wall are many. *Der Spiegel* in 1965 collected many of these accounts in an article entitled "Vom Friedhof in die Freiheit."⁴⁷ Fugitives came through openly disguised in uniforms of German police or Russian military. They crawled through sewers and burned smoke torches to attract attention for the opening of manholes. They jumped out of windows of buildings adjoining the wall—until the openings were bricked up and the structures evacuated and locked. They swam the Spree River and sailed away in commandeered ships. They jumped on fast-moving trains and hung on precariously into West Berlin. They forged diplomatic passes. They hid behind meat carcasses in refrigerated trucks. They laboriously dug tunnels. They burst through checkpoints in armored trucks. They drove a low-slung sports car under the checkpoint barrier. They squeezed

⁴⁶ *Chicago Tribune*, 1 Jan. 1965; *Time*, 7 Apr. 1967, p. 25.

⁴⁷ No. 33, pp. 20–25.

refugees into tiny compartments of vehicles. They fastened a cable from the roof of the former Goering Airforce Ministry across to West Berlin and slid down it. Still the authorities on the east side of the iron curtain sought to cut off the movement. A news item in the *Nürnberger Nachrichten* of 25 August 1965 reported that infrared ray machines were being installed for the purpose of revealing refugees trying to sneak by under cover of darkness. It was thought they could dodge light rays but would not suspect the invisible light of infrared. *Time* reported, 23 September 1966, that two young men, their pregnant wives, and one three-year-old son escaped through an antitank ditch and three barbed-wire fences into Spandau, West Berlin, in a home-armored bulldozer.

The continuing flow of refugees past the iron curtain kept the few remaining reception centers busy unremittingly. Figures released in 1965 by the Bavarian Ministry for Social Welfare showed five camps with a capacity of 2,200 actually sheltering 1,590 persons. Only one camp was crowded past capacity.⁴⁸ Personal inspection in August 1965 revealed that relatively few refugees, either ethnic German or not, were long-term inhabitants of the camps. Most were transit cases, received and registered in camps near the border, such as Friedland Durchgangslager, located close to the sector boundary south of Göttingen, and then sent farther west for processing for local settlement or resettlement. Friedland today is a pleasantly landscaped community equipped with neatly painted frame buildings in a tree-shaded area. Ordinarily newly arrived refugees stay here only two days, then go on to other centers. About fifty or sixty persons are in residence daily.

One of the more permanent camps is located in Giessen, where the federal government maintains a center for reception and care of German refugees. Work was being done here directly following the war, although the camp was not formally established until 1950. It was very active until the Berlin wall cut the flow, sheltering from six hundred to a thousand persons.⁴⁹ Pastor Otto Bauschulte, who serves this camp says (1965) he had himself dealt with 400,000 persons in the course of thirteen years. There are now 330 beds, but only 37 adults, 34 young men, and 5 girls in residence. Ninety percent of the people in Giessen camp want to remain in Germany; 10 percent would return to their country of origin; few wish to resettle overseas.

One of the camps for non-German refugees is Zirndorf, near Nürn-

⁴⁸ Mimeographed statement given to me in the Nürnberg office of the *Innere Mission und Hilfswerk* of the Evangelical Lutheran Church in Bavaria.

⁴⁹ Information based on personal inspection 23 Aug. 1965 and interview with Pastor Otto Bauschulte.

berg.⁵⁰ During the war this establishment, a heavy and rather forbidding set of structures on a hillside, was a labor camp. It now has close to its capacity of five hundred persons, mostly Yugoslavs and Hungarians, some Poles and Bulgarians. There have been Russians, but none now. These non-German refugees are far more willing to consider resettlement farther away. Fräulein Nowak, who represents the Service to Refugees of the World Council of Churches, occupies here the only WCC office in a German refugee camp.

Austria has played a major role in the twentieth century as a place of refuge. Ethnic Germans poured in during the expulsions following World War II. Non-German refugees of many kinds continued to arrive. Several years before the Hungarian revolution of 1956 the government reported 43,000 of these, mostly Yugoslav and Hungarian. In 1952 the camp population was 9,000 non-Germans and 41,000 Germans.⁵¹ The *Christian Century* reported in 1951 that, of 318,000 exiles in Austria, only 37,000 were eligible for United Nations care.⁵² In the 1960's the situation, for the time being, was stabilized. Camp clearance during World Refugee Year helped remove these sores from the face of society, although some camps are still in operation to take care of the inevitable leftovers and to receive newcomers. One such camp is located south of Vienna.⁵³ Established by the government in 1956 during the Hungarian crisis, for a while it gave shelter to about four thousand refugees. Only about eight hundred, mainly Yugoslavs, lived there in 1965. These people remain in the camp for relatively short periods, then go on to more permanent settlement in other countries. After a two- or three-week quarantine period during which their cases are investigated they have two more weeks to find a job and move to another part of the camp. There they can live while working in town until they emigrate, paying rent out of their wages. Several observers agreed that, comparing the ethnic German refugees with those coming from Yugoslavia, the former respond more readily to the challenges of refugee life, keep their quarters in better shape, and seek more actively to find work and new careers.⁵⁴

Newspapers in Germany and Austria were reporting in early autumn 1965 that the number of refugees coming into Austria from Czechoslovakia

⁵⁰ Interviews with Pastor Richard Kolb in Nürnberg, 25 Aug. 1965 and with Fräulein Nowak at Zirndorf, 26 Aug. 1965.

⁵¹ Vernant, p. 110.

⁵² *Christian Century*, 14 Mar. 1951, p. 346.

⁵³ Personal interview with Dr. Käte Cermak, WCC DICARWS representative, Vienna, 6 Sept. 1965.

⁵⁴ Information based on three personal interviews in Austria. Cf. the judgment in Vernant, p. 133.

and Hungary was on the increase.⁵⁵ Groups of tourists from the two countries simply remained in Vienna instead of returning home. *Die Presse* narrated a spectacular escape from Leipzig planned by a young worker, who left his girl friend behind. She joined a conducted tour to Budapest, met her fiancé there, and hid in a small space behind a false wall which the young artisan had built in a travel trailer. Together they crossed the Austrian border. Others continued almost daily to follow the dangerous route from Hungary to Austria. Camps visited by the author in both Germany and Austria were giving shelter to individuals who had arrived only a few days previously. These represent a mere trickle in contrast to mass migrations like that from Hungary in 1956–57, but the persistent movement indicates continuation of the forces that caused the major upheavals.

Almost all the other nations of western Europe continued to harbor relatively small numbers of people who either fled direct or migrated from the lands of original refuge. Sweden, the Netherlands, Belgium, Switzerland, and Norway received individuals and groups so far as their capacity and population permitted. Some of these smaller countries set outstanding records in willingness to accept handicapped refugees from the hard-core leftovers no one else wanted. Several homes for aged refugees, mostly constructed with funds given by religious agencies, were established in these lands.

The situation in the Balkans was in many ways different from that in western Europe. A special case is that of Trieste. Located in such a way as to give occasion repeatedly to struggles for possession between Italians and the Slavic people of the Balkans, in the early 1950's Trieste became a focal point of refugees from Yugoslavia. Marshal Tito expelled all non-Yugoslav inhabitants "to their country of origin." This was a sort of expansion of the principle under which ethnic Germans were expelled after World War II. Rather than go home, which in some cases no longer existed in recognizable form (as, for example, for White Russians), they poured into Trieste. The peak years were 1950 and 1951. At first most of the expellees simply passed through Trieste on their way to Italy.⁵⁶ Then they began to pile up in Trieste. The Allied military government, unprepared for this new burden, stumbled badly in trying to cope with it. Several temporary camps sprang up, not well located or planned. One was Opicina, in the mountains near the border, which served as a reception center. There were stone and wood barracks and tents for the overflow. Another camp, in Trieste itself, was San Sabba,

⁵⁵ *Die Welt*, 4 Oct. 1965; *Die Presse*, 2 Sept. 1965.

⁵⁶ Vernant, pp. 199–200; Chandler, pp. 135–37.

which housed family groups. This was the hulk of an abandoned factory. Another, Gesuiti, was a former prison and looked like one. In 1952 about five thousand refugees were living in the Trieste area. Most were Russians who had fled to Serbia from the Russian Revolution, but there were also Romanians and Bulgarians. For a time eight hundred refugees were arriving each day from Yugoslavia by train. In 1953, 4,300 were still living in the temporary quarters. Plans were being made, however, for resettlement, after removal to Italy, in Brazil, Australia, the United States, and other countries.⁵⁷ After a total of seven thousand had been moved, the camps of Trieste were closed down in the camp clearance program.

Yugoslavia itself harbored large numbers of refugees who were not expelled. Many Russian refugees were able to settle down under the Tito regime although uncounted thousands had disappeared during World War II. Fleeing the civil war, 25,000 Greek refugees from Greek Macedonia established themselves in Yugoslav Macedonia with almost no difficulty in integration.⁵⁸ All they had to do was to move from southern Old Macedonia to northern Old Macedonia.

Greece, located at the Mediterranean end of the Balkan Peninsula and between Europe and Asia, was a center for congregation of refugees during the entire twentieth century to the present. The earlier history, which became important with the mass migrations of Turks from Greece to Turkey and of Greeks from Turkey to Greece after World War I and continued with separate movements of Armenians and Assyrians down through the forced movements during and following World War II, has already been discussed. In 1952 about fifteen hundred non-Greek refugees were in camps.⁵⁹ By this time most of the new ones were ethnic Greeks from the iron curtain countries of the Balkans, especially Romania. About five thousand Romanians arrived between 1947 and 1952.⁶⁰ The Greek government has permitted entry to all these groups although it has remained uneasy about the security aspects attending immigration of non-Greek refugees from the Balkans. The country has not been able to provide permanent homes for very many alien refugees, but it encourages their processing for resettlement elsewhere and it has struggled to settle and integrate the ethnic Greeks. Special problems associated with the social and economic customs and practices of this country have made more difficult the full assimilation of the refugee in the community.

⁵⁷ *Christian Century*, 9 Dec. 1953, p. 1429.

⁵⁸ Vernant, p. 218.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 206.

⁶⁰ See the full report in *Integration*, VIII (1961), by Walter Kirkpatrick.

As a result of World Refugee Year and the continued efforts of the Greek government much progress has been made in moving refugees from camps into permanent housing projects. In all these enterprises the churches, especially in the WCC, have been very active. By far the largest work is being done by DICARWS, which maintains a large office in Athens with a staff of seventy, the largest single operation sponsored by Inter-Church Aid.⁶¹ Good relations prevail between the responsible offices of the Greek government, the UNHCR, and the WCC. Sharp conflicts in Greek politics, however, have from time to time interfered with the efficient operation of projects such as rehousing. Two camps in particular have been and continue to be important: Lavrion, near Athens, and Saloniki. But today Lavrion, which in the past has sheltered a thousand persons at a time, now holds between fifty and sixty. Wallace Bell, senior representative of DICARWS in Greece, stated that all the alien refugees in Greece want to go to America. They have heard and taken seriously the appeals made over the Voice of America radio programs calling for escape from behind the iron curtain to freedom in the West. They are then surprised to learn that the way is not wide open. A question of policy and public relations is involved here, perhaps one of honor. Should the United States make such appeals to victims of Communist oppression if it is not prepared to "deliver the goods"?

A recent visit by the author to Athens revealed that authorities are now engaged in two types of work—mopping up the leftovers of earlier large movements, and providing daily care for a continuing stream of refugees from the Balkans. Most of the earlier refugees have now been either resettled elsewhere or settled locally. In all this work the UNHCR cooperates effectively with the officers of the WCC.⁶² The wider concern of the mandated authority has facilitated cooperation with the voluntary agencies, which from the beginning did not draw legalistic lines between types of needy refugees. "Using the good offices" reached effectively into the complex situation in Greece, as a result of which, reports the Athens office of the UNHCR, one person in seven is of refugee origin.

So vigorous has been the promotion of settlement work that many temporary centers, like the Kallithea Refugee Center in Athens, operated by the Ministry of Welfare, are in process of closing down. For this reason some places have a rundown appearance, the Kallithea Center among them. People in small numbers are still living here, however, and new

⁶¹ Personal interview with Wallace Bell, senior representative of DICARWS in Athens, 27 Sept. 1965.

⁶² Personal interview with Leslie Goodyear, representative of UNHCR in Greece, 28 Sept. 1965.

ones come in. Refugees of Greek background were coming from Russia in 1965, part of a group exiled to Siberia in 1947.⁶³ More typical of the situation of ethnic Greek refugees is the partial assimilation into the normal life of the Greek community. Many individuals have been able to set up small shops in which they pursue the skills they have acquired, sometimes simply sales of goods, sometimes photography and painting. Efforts have been made to provide comfortable quarters for older people beyond the age suitable for migration to far lands. Under the auspices of the YWCA, for example, an attractive home for old people has been constructed at Heliópolis in which couples and single persons live in their own apartments, many with a beautiful view down toward Piraeus and the Aegean Sea.

As this book goes to press, of the nearly one million refugees resident in Europe, 21,266 people fleeing from Czechoslovakia and 23,000 from Tunisia are the only new contingents.⁶⁴ Even more recent reports on the former indicate that yet another major movement is in the making in Europe. Estimates of homeless Czechs now (September 1969) run from 80,000 to 90,000.⁶⁵ On one day, the first anniversary of the Soviet invasion, 90 persons asked for refuge in Austria. About 11,000 have already been resettled in Canada, 8,000 in West Germany, 11,000 in Switzerland, and only 3,500 in the United States.

⁶³ *Newsletter*, Nov. 1965.

⁶⁴ USCR *World Refugee Report*, 1969, p. 19.

⁶⁵ *Chicago Daily News*, 16 Sept. 1969, p. 3.

Chapter 33

The Near East

*T*wo major themes dominate the contemporary history of refugees in the Near East: the rise of Israel, a nation of refugees, and the swarming of Arab refugees as a result of the rise of Israel. Long before these developments, however, as we have seen in Chapter 30, other movements had spread over the western portions of Asia.

A. Early Movements and Turkey

The massacres of Armenians in Turkey and the massive dislocations of World War I which scattered both Armenians and Assyrians have already been discussed. There continued to be homeless and stateless refugees, in various areas of the Near East and in more distant locations in Greece, France, and other western countries, through the period of World War II and after. One of the continuing responsibilities of the Service to Refugees of the World Council of Churches has been the resettlement, wherever possible, of these isolated people who, unlike the Jews, have not found a "national homeland." The Inter-Church Aid *Newsletter* frequently carries items reporting activities in their behalf.¹ An interview in Beirut with Miss Ruth Black, senior representative of the WCC Refugee Service in the Near East, underlined again the importance of this work as a special concern of the churches.² She confirmed the unanimous opinion that the

¹ For example, the issue of Dec. 1964, p. 10, on a community of Assyrians in Zahle, near the Lebanon-Syrian border.

² Personal interview with Ruth Black, Beirut, Oct. 1965. From her newly located office on the outskirts of Beirut Miss Black carries on a vigorous and varied ministry of rescue, relief, and resettlement which, although it is properly concerned mainly with the latter operation, deals also with the unavoidable major problem of Arab refugees.

Armenian groups have proved much more responsive to assistance than the Assyrians, who have lapsed in many cases into the worst forms of refugee mentality.

Turkey has been in the postwar period a country of refuge for Turks expelled from neighboring states. One of the most important movements was that of a quarter-million people from Bulgaria in 1950.³ Suddenly the Bulgarian government ordered all Turks out of the country within three months. Most of them fled to Edirne and Istanbul. Since Turkey is fortunately a land not fully occupied and developed, room was made and they were quickly resettled and assimilated. A private organization, the *Association turque d'Aide aux Réfugiés et Immigrants*, worked efficiently in handling the large numbers involved. All these refugees were fully assimilated and granted rights of citizenship. Other movements of Turks from Communist-dominated countries have taken place. In addition, Turkey has harbored a small number of non-Turkish refugees both before and since World War II. Some are religious minorities dealt with in the chapter on religious refugees. In Istanbul the WCC maintains an office which today is attempting to clear out the last of the hard-core refugees left over from the time of the Nansen Commission.⁴ John Bazalgette, the chief officer of the Refugee Service in Istanbul, told me that a relatively few refugees continue to come from the Communist countries of the Balkans. The small staff in the headquarters in Mesrutiyet Caddesi, an old building up the hill on the Galata side, work daily with a varied and pathetic flow of newcomers. But not many opportunities exist for settling aliens in Turkey, since they are prevented by law from engaging in remunerative employment. Only a few whose skills are in special demand manage to find work in spite of the law. Most of these modern refugees could resettle in Australia, but they hold out for the United States. A few refugees escape to Turkey from Russia. One young Russian recently swam along the Black Sea coast some fifty miles from near Batumi, equipped with flippers and a knife, until he reached sanctuary in Turkey.⁵ The Turkish government is understandably uneasy about escapees from neighboring Communist countries, especially Russia. Considerations of security increase the difficulty of the work. On the other hand, the authorities, Moslem to a man, have cooperated with the Christian agencies involved. The situation is further complicated by the long-standing con-

³ Jacques Vernant, *Refugee in the Post-War World*, pp. 239 ff.

⁴ Personal interview with John Bazalgette, Istanbul, 5 Oct. 1965.

⁵ Personal interview with the Rev. Edward Radcliffe, minister of the Dutch Chapel in Istanbul, 11 Oct. 1965.

flict between Turkey and the ecumenical patriarch, and by this country's continuing unsavory reputation as a persecutor of minorities.

B. Israel

The creation of Israel is unprecedented. Never before has a state come into being fully prepared with organization and even an army, all the result of careful planning and calculated intent. Never before has a nation arisen as a result of a specific mass movement of refugees. Revolutions have been planned, of course, and new nations have arisen as a result, but not in the prearranged fashion of Israel. Refugees have contributed to the development of modern states, but not as a decisive factor. Israel, as Norman Bentwich has well said, "sprang like Athena in full armour from the head of Zeus."⁶ And in its birth it became veritably a nation of refugees. However controversial the political situation of Israel in the midst of an Arab world may be, it does in fact constitute an important chapter in the history of refugees. Many of the issues are deeply religious, although few would be inclined to describe the modern Israelis as strictly religious refugees.

The roots of the movement lie far back in history, though not all the way back, as theorists would have it, to the settlement of Palestine by Jews in the time of Abraham and Moses. A key factor was the rise of modern Zionism, especially through the devoted efforts of Theodor Herzl, an Austrian Jew possessed of a dream of a national homeland. At first the Zionist dream was not concerned exclusively with Palestine, but more and more this one goal dominated. As a result of his book *Der Judenstaat*, published in 1896, a first Zionist Congress was held in Basel, Switzerland, the next year. Thus was born the movement of political Zionism, a hardheaded program with a stated goal as contrasted to the former religiocultural dream of a gathering of the Diaspora. It received powerful backing from the efforts of Chaim Weizmann, a brilliant Russian Jewish chemist, who came to England in 1904 and enlisted the aid of the British government. Not until the first world war, however, did

⁶ Norman Bentwich, *Israel Resurgent*, p. 44. This excellent study is the basis for much of the material in the present section. Other usable sources are Irving Miller, *Israel, The Eternal Ideal*, a highly Zionist interpretation, and Louis Finkelstein, ed., *Jews, Their History, Culture, and Religion*, especially the chapter by Jacob Lestschinsky, "Jewish Migrations, 1840-1956." David Ben-Gurion's autobiographical report, *Israel: Years of Challenge*, is important source material. See also ILO, *International Migration, 1945-1957*, pp. 72 ff. No attempt is made in this section to retell the whole story of the rise of Israel, an episode which goes far beyond the area of refugee study.

the plan become a viable possibility. The famous Balfour Declaration of 1917, forged in the turmoil of global conflict in which control of the Arab world was a principal factor, opened the way for the return of Jews, scattered through centuries of persecution, to their ancestral home. Lord Balfour, in offering support for a Jewish homeland in Palestine, was careful to assure the Arabs that such a program should in no wise interfere with the rights of Arabs in the same region. No one at the time clearly realized that this was another attempt to eat your cake and have it too. As things stood, no one could settle in Palestine without pushing someone else out—not, at least, until a major economic revolution had transformed the productive capacity of this long-starved land.

Nevertheless, in fulfillment of the Balfour Declaration, the mandate given Great Britain over Palestine by the League of Nations included specifically the Zionist plan for a national homeland and encouraged immigration of Jews to Palestine. Arab opposition to encroachment on areas regarded as firmly Arabian appeared early, but ineffectively. The Arab world was indeed going through the throes of rebirth of a nationalist spirit, in part the legacy of that most colorful of English imperialists, Lawrence. The Arabs had been drawn into support of the British war effort against the Turks. They, too, had been promised independence of some kind and looked forward to the rise of a new Arab nation. Unfortunately they were not united in any such powerful movement as Zionism. A great deal of the effort was wasted in internal quarrels. The Arabs had a much longer road to go on the way to the modern world. Hence the sporadic resistance of the Arabs to Jewish immigration and settlement in 1920–22, in 1929, and again in the mid-thirties, was ineffective. Moreover, the inept leader of the Arab states in process of formation missed repeated opportunities to present the Arab side of the issues as they rigidly boycotted international meetings called to discuss the problems and seek solutions. For them there was only way—exclusion of the Jews and formation of a united Arab state. They were not clear on how they were to unite. Time and again international efforts were frustrated through Arab intransigence. Time and again spirited Zionism promoted the cause of the national homeland. The mufti of Jerusalem, who claimed to speak for the Arab world, was a loud troublemaker whose totally negative policy thwarted any efforts to bring Arab spokesmen into discussions. Many responsible authorities came to the conclusion that the prime difficulty in the Palestine problem was rigid obstructionism and incompetence on the part of the Arabs. Suggestions were made for a united binational Arab-Jewish state. Other proposals looked for an internationalized government or for an Arab state containing a protected

Jewish minority. All foundered. Meanwhile Jews were coming to Palestine under Zionist convictions.

A British royal commission in 1937 reported irreconcilable conflicts between Jewish and Arab aspirations and in despair recommended formal partition of the land, in which the Jews would possess a relatively small state and the holy cities would continue under international mandate. Although the Zionist Congress accepted this proposal as a suitable fulfillment of the plan, the Arabs, under pressure from the mufti, rejected it. All was swallowed up in the tremendous forces of World War II, in which the Jews sought to promote the Western cause with acts of terrorism against the Arabs, who under the influence of the mufti were brought to some extent within the orbit of Nazi policies. After the war the situation was far worse than before. Masses of Jewish refugees from Hitler and then from Communist countries poured in. President Roosevelt asked Great Britain to admit immediately 100,000 refugees from the concentration camps. By the end of 1946 both sides in Palestine, Jew and Arab, were in open revolt against the long-suffering and unimaginative British mandate authority. At last, utterly exhausted, Great Britain in February 1947 referred the entire problem of Palestine to the United Nations with the declared intention of relinquishing all responsibility. The Special Committee for Palestine, composed of representatives of small neutral states, after extended debate recommended partition and independence for both Jews and Arabs, provided that economic union be maintained for the benefit of both. A minority held out for a federated state. On 29 November 1947 the General Assembly approved the plan for partition and creation of a new state for the Jews. On 14 May 1948 the British high commissioner departed in an atmosphere of chaos. The next day the state of Israel was proclaimed.

It was quickly recognized by the major powers including the United States and Russia. It was also quickly invaded by Arab forces determined to drive the Jews into the sea. The Haganah, until now an unofficial, indeed illegal, armed force, became suddenly the army of Israel posted for defense against Egypt on the one side and Syria on the other. A temporary truce was worked out by Count Folke Bernadotte, president of the Swedish Red Cross and prime United Nations negotiator for a settlement in Palestine. But it did not last, and a second wave of fighting had to come before an uneasy cease-fire was arranged after Jordan broke from the baleful influence of the mufti. In the process Bernadotte was assassinated by Jewish terrorists. Before he died he had realistically reported, "No solution of the Palestine problem can satisfy both Jews and Arabs. But it is equally true that no solution can satisfy all the Arabs

either."⁷ As it turned out the Jews were victorious on all fronts, and Israel survived its full-grown but tumultuous birth. But peace has not been made to this day.

One of the crucial forces in the creation of Israel was the mass immigration of refugees from the horrible persecutions by the Nazis and from the concentration camps liberated at the end of the war. Many factors went into the making of this new nation: guilty reaction in the West against the horror of the Nazi extermination program, more guilt over the age-old anti-Semitism which had plagued Europe, continued opposition to immigration of Jews into other countries, the powerful effectiveness of Zionism and its strong financial support especially in the United States, political astuteness of Zionism contrasted to ineptness of Arabs, and practical activism which provided an army when it was most needed. But the indispensable factor was the mass migration of Jews from Europe. Ironically Adolf Hitler, the archenemy of the Jews, made possible the fulfillment of Zionist aspirations and the creation of a national homeland in Palestine. In a negative way that statement is quite true, for Hitler was the most important motivating factor in the flight. Part of the guilt of the West was the unwillingness of the major powers to accept large numbers of Jewish refugees. Israel rose from the unholy alliance of Nazi persecution, Western isolation, and Arab intransigence.

Until the end of World War I the immigration of Jews to Palestine was scattered and moderate. Those who did come generally arrived as individuals or families, bought land, and settled down. They were not refugees, at least directly. From a broad point of view, of course, almost all Jews had been refugees since A.D. 70. By 1919 no more than 65,000 Jews were living in Palestine. In this earlier period the great migration of Jews was westward, to the United States and Canada; 80 percent went in that direction.⁸ But between 1948 and 1956 80 percent went to Israel instead. The rate of movement rose notably between the two world wars, then decreased during the second because of disruption by military activities. Note has already been taken of the effects of persecution by the Nazis in the 1930's and of the extermination programs carried on through the war years. In 1943 through 1945 a few thousand Jews managed to get to Palestine each year, almost half from Poland and almost 90 percent Ashkenazim.⁹ A third were industrial and craft workers, a fifth were in building or unskilled labor, a tenth were professionals, and 16 percent were agricultural workers. The mass movement, however, came

⁷ Bernadotte, *To Jerusalem*, quoted in Bentwich, p. 47.

⁸ Lestschinsky, in Finkelstein, II, 1579.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 1571.

after the war, with over a million refugees driven by a tremendous urge to get out of Europe and enticed by a new vision of a true home for the Jews at long last, back in the land of Abraham and King David. A million, yes—but these were a pathetic remnant of the grisly exterminations of the Nazi war years. Three-quarters of the east European Jews had been killed or lost. Not only did the survivors suffer under the memory of recent destruction. They also faced the reality of continued anti-Semitism in its ancient stronghold, Poland, Romania, and Hungary, to say nothing of the rest of Europe. The only thought was to get out. And now there was an open way—or at least one that appeared to be open. The British, trying desperately to see both sides, pleased neither Jews nor Arabs and earned the enmity of both. Vested with the responsibility of mandate, the British had a good deal of dirty work to do between the end of the war and the creation of independent Israel. Their position had been stated in the White Paper of 1939, which had put strict limitations on further Jewish migration to Palestine. It turned out to be another bit of mere paper. On 23 November 1945 the first ship containing Jewish refugees from Europe arrived. Although it was intercepted, the passengers managed to land and go into hiding.¹⁰ This process continued, in spite of all the British could do, till the very end of the mandate in spring 1948. Fifty-seven ships brought seventy thousand illegal immigrants without visas. Forty ships were intercepted and their passengers either interned on Cyprus or returned all the way to Europe, but the rest got through. Together with various underground operations, these efforts brought thirty thousand illegally into Palestine. They sailed from Atlantic, Mediterranean, and Black Sea ports, especially Genoa. Most of the immigrants had spent a period of time in the refugee camps of Germany and western Europe. So large was the traffic into and out of Allied and UNRRA refugee camps that the governments concerned, especially the United States, were charged with aiding and abetting the illegal movements of Zionists to Palestine in defiance of the British mandate. Apparently the authorities in the American camps, both military and UNRRA, cooperated fully with the desired movements of Jews, secure in the knowledge of high-level support back home.¹¹

The British, saddled with the unpleasant task of administering a mandated territory on behalf of the United Nations, were not so cooperative,

¹⁰ Malcolm M. Proudfoot, *European Refugees*, pp. 348 ff. Proudfoot has two excellent sections, pp. 348–59, equipped with helpful tables and statistics.

¹¹ Proudfoot, pp. 349 ff., makes much of this cooperative effort, which, as he interprets it, amounted to direct support of Zionism in and through the refugee aid program.

either in their European sector of Germany or in the eastern Mediterranean. In 1946 they set up the internment center (concentration camp to Jews) in Cyprus to which persons intercepted in illegal efforts to enter Palestine were taken. In January 1948, 31,344 persons were living there. A considerable literature in the form of diaries and memoirs, together with one best-selling novel-become-movie, has stemmed from the violent and sometimes tragic episodes of that time. Between January 1946 and the proclamation of Israel in the middle of May 1948 about 56,000 Jews migrated to Palestine. Eighty-six percent came from Europe, and of these a third each from Poland and Romania.¹² Most entered without official visas.

In 1948, the year of Israel's independence, Jews were still widely scattered. About a quarter-million were in camps in Germany, Austria, and Italy. About a half-million were in east European countries under Communist rule. About another half-million were in North African countries, mostly under Arab rule. There were 275,000 in the Arab countries of the Middle East.¹³ These were the prime sources for the immigration to Israel after the declaration of independence. With the doors wide open to entry and citizenship promised all Jews from anywhere in the world, a tide developed which radically altered the balance of population. Whereas something less than a half-million had come to Palestine before, between 1948 and 1955 a total of 772,000 people entered Israel. Nearly 343,000 came from Europe, 252,000 from Asia, and 152,000 from Africa. Only 5,662 came from the Western Hemisphere. The largest numbers were: Iraq, 125,000; Romania, 122,000; Poland, 108,000; Tunisia, Algeria, and Morocco, 99,000; Yemen, 46,000; Bulgaria, 38,000; Turkey, 35,000; Libya, 33,000; Iran, 28,000.¹⁴ In terms of percentage, Europe contributed 45 percent, Asia 33 percent, and Africa 20 percent. In the period before independence the percentage of Europeans had been vastly higher, 88 percent. This means that the preponderance of the original population of Israel was strongly European in its cultural background. It means also that as time went on the numbers coming from the relatively backward regions of Asia and Africa, such as the special group from Yemen, increased. Moreover, about three-quarters of the European Jews, both before and after 1948, were of Eastern extraction.

One clear conclusion follows from this. Wherever one talks about the influence of any particular group, it must be borne in mind that the European

¹² *Ibid.*, table on p. 356.

¹³ These figures are in Lestschinsky (in Finkelstein), II, 1578.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 1584, Table 14.

immigrants were the first to build the material and spiritual foundations of the *Yishuv*. Moreover, "European immigrants" means, in effect, East European Jews, and in fact mainly the Russo-Polish Jews who were not merely the Guardians of the Walls of the Jewish faith but also the creators of the most modern Yiddish and Hebrew literature, and of both of those social movements that gave the *Yishuv* its particular social flavor.¹⁵

As time went on, however, the non-European elements increased, and recently 90 percent of immigration has been non-European. The Asian and African Jews were more backward culturally, but they were closely loyal to Judaism and quite unassimilated to the host cultures. This was less the case with the Algerian Jews, who reflected French influences. The Jews from Yemen were at the opposite extreme, a sort of isolated island of traditional pious Judaism from the eighteenth century, or even from the Middle Ages. Yet they proved industrious as well as pious in Israel. Jews from Iraq, some of whom trace ancestry back to the Babylonian exile, were relatively well educated and acquainted with the world at large.

Of course not all of the immigrants were refugees. Many who came in the days before Hitler were not. Many who have come in recent years are not. Most of the masses who came during and right after World War II were. Can they be described as *religious* refugees? To ask that question is to be faced with the larger question, Who is a Jew? Is this a racial or a religious category? Again the factors are inextricably intermingled. Does persecution rise from physiognomic features and cultural habits or from religious prejudice? How can Jewish religion and Jewish culture be separated? Undoubtedly the Jews who fled to Palestine and Israel were, with the qualifications made above, religious refugees. The only question is the degree of influence of the religious factor. If one could arrive at a refinement of this factor, he would have a true measure of one of the most significant movements of religious refugees in the twentieth century.

While our attention is directed to Israel, a secondary element in the story should be discussed. It has to do with the Arabs in Israel, of whom there are about 220,000. The main concern is not with the issue, important in itself, of their lot in the new Jewish state, which has of course become a matter of contention. Rather our interest is directed to some 50,000 who are in fact refugees—that is, refugees from other parts of Israel, particularly from the west and south to the north. Galilee remained relatively quiescent in the disorders attending the war of independence.

¹⁵ Quoted in *ibid.*, p. 1586.

Some Arabs who were compelled to flee their homes remained in Israel. They too are refugees, especially when one considers the provincialism of most people of the Near East. Their home is not some country, but a city or valley. The mere fact that they, along with continuously settled Arabs, remain in Israel at all may be surprising. That they have suffered a series of restrictions and indignities imposed by the now heavily Jewish majority is not surprising. They share a rather precarious life with permanent Arab inhabitants, with some 40,000 Arabs who have returned to Israel, chiefly to be reunited with their families, and with about 45,000 Arabs who happen to be Christians. Israel now has its own very special problems of minorities.¹⁶

One aspect of the Israelite chapter in this history of refugees is clear: No other case can be cited in which the rapid and effective assimilation of refugees has been more complete. So largely is this new nation a nation of refugees that there is no possibility of cultural or economic division on that basis. There are many differences in the makeup of the population of Israel today, but refugee origin is not one of them.

C. Arabs—Refugees from Refugees

One of the principal results of the migration of Jewish refugees to Palestine, quite aside from the central result of creating Israel, was the nearly equivalent migration of Arab refugees from the nascent Jewish state into neighboring territories. This is almost unique—one flight caused by another. Yet it was to have been expected. Even if no terrorism, no force, had accompanied the Jewish settlement, still most of the Arabs would have left, for the simple reason that there was no room for them. A million Jews replaced a million Arabs. Either that, or there would not have been room for the Jews.

The question as to why the Arabs left is complex and perhaps impossible to answer. The evidence is conflicting and the sources are unreliable. One set of evidence suggests that the Jews terrorized and oppressed the Arabs until they fled in fear for their lives, and that the Arab governments encouraged departure on the assumption that it would be temporary. Another set of evidence leads to the conclusion that the Palestinian Arabs could have remained in possession of their homes and would not have been dispossessed, and that the Arab governments had no intention of removing people from Palestine. Some truth underlies

¹⁶ Bentwich, pp. 177-79.

all of these claims and charges. The fact is that the situation differed radically from place to place and time to time. Arabs understandably fled from terror in Haifa and Jerusalem. Equally understandably they remained firmly in their homes in Galilee. Unquestionably in some areas the Jews not only threatened but terrorized. Even a brief visit to Arab countries elicits firsthand accounts of personal deprivation.¹⁷ Arab propaganda exaggerates this violence to the point of conjuring up a vast pogrom in reverse. Jewish propaganda argues that the Arabs were not driven out, that they fled before imagined fears, and that cases of violence were either isolated or falsely reported.¹⁸

On the one hand an impressive body of substantial evidence indicates that in many—too many—cases the Arab population were subjected to direct violence.¹⁹ Some of the episodes took place in the confusing period before proclamation of Israel, some after. The Deir Yasin massacre, in which about two hundred Arabs—men, women, and children—in a little village not far from Jerusalem were killed and their bodies thrown into a cistern, occurred on 9 April 1948. Perpetrated by the extremist groups of Irgun Zvai Leumi and the Stern Gang, it was denounced by the moderate leaders of Haganah. The psychological impact of the event, which took place only three miles from the headquarters of the British mandate authority, is easily understood. The expulsion of Arabs from Lydda and Ramleh came in July 1948 at the end of the first truce in the war which followed the departure of the British authority. When the Jews captured these towns, the terms of surrender would have permitted the Arab inhabitants to remain in their homes. Instead they were forcibly expelled and driven toward Ramallah, some fifty kilometers distant, not far north of Jerusalem. The violation of the 3 April 1949

¹⁷ Experiences of persecution and flight, some of them rather personal and confidential, were given to me in the course of conversations with several Arab refugees, all of whom are Christians who fled Palestine under pressure and who subsequently overcame the deadly despair of refugee life: Miss Julia Awad, general secretary of Jerusalem YWCA, interview on 16 Oct. 1965; Bishop Najib Cuba'in, bishop of the Evangelical Episcopal Church of Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria, and chairman of Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work (NECCCRW), interview on 19 Oct. 1965; and Mr. Labib Nasir, general secretary of Jerusalem YMCA, interview on 17 Oct. 1965.

¹⁸ It is now almost impossible to sort out and weigh the evidence and assess responsibility. Examples of directly contradictory arguments are found in the statements of Arab and Jewish spokesmen before the sessions of the United Nations.

¹⁹ This was collected early in a mimeographed report by Nassib Bulos and S. G. Thicknesse entitled "Arab Loss in Palestine, November 1947–December 1949." Based on prime Western newspaper reports, evidence in reports to the United Nations, and formal statements by international leaders such as Count Bernadotte and Ralph Bunche, this well-documented study, shows the extent to which violence was a part of the creation of Israel.

armistice, in which the inhabitants of Wadi Fukin, a village a few miles west of Bethlehem in Israeli territory, were evicted by Israeli army forces, took place in mid-July 1949. The report of the senior United Nations observer is enlightening:

I was entrusted with the task of returning the 400 inhabitants of Wadi Fukin to their village. I found that the whole village had, during its occupation by Jewish forces, been destroyed, and only ten houses were left standing. No military operation had ever taken place in that area. The orchards and trees of the village had been cut down or destroyed.²⁰

Evidence can also be adduced to show that the Arabs perpetrated violence in reprisal and defense. Especially vindictive were those who operated under urging of the mufti. Israeli families, especially near the border, were murdered. There is not enough clear evidence, however, to prove that terrorism was a firm and universal policy followed by either side. In large areas of the parts of Palestine that became Israel the Arabs were left unmolested in their homes and villages. They are there to this day. The Arab forces that occupied Jerusalem were widely reported as humane in the treatment of their captives. Warfare, particularly revolution, creates conditions of chaos, conditions of power failure, in which contradictory policies arise. In some areas the authorities striving to create a new Israel encouraged the Arabs to remain in their homes and offered protection. In other areas Jewish authorities either by direct force or by subtle threat fomented mass flight. On the other side some Arab leaders were advising their people to remain calm in their villages at the same time that others were advising mass flight. Some refugees fled as bullets whizzed behind them. Others fled from fears as dark as the night. Some went because they were pushed out. Some went because they had heard of others' being pushed out.

As a result, therefore, of a most complex series of events and for many different reasons the Arabs of Palestine fled *en masse* before the victorious armies of nascent Israel. The Arab armies were not able to perform the task assigned—to drive the Jews into the sea. On every side the army which had been the Haganah in the struggle against the British mandate now turned the tide against the enemy on many fronts. Instead of being driven into the sea the Jews drove back the Arabs and overran the lines of the intended UN partition. A large part of the Arab flight can be explained as simply the inevitable effect of large military operations.

²⁰ Report of the observer for the United Nations, as given in the press, quoted in "Arab Loss in Palestine," p. 12.

Theoretical neutrality is poor protection against impersonal bombs and shrapnel. Before the struggle was over, a million Arab refugees had gathered in miserable concentrations beyond the borders of Israeli-controlled territory. North into Lebanon and Syria, south into the Gaza region, and especially east into what would be the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan they straggled, almost without exception bereft of all their possessions. About fifty thousand persons fled precipitously from the region of Haifa north through Galilee into Lebanon, where they settled around the ancient port of Sidon (Saida), on the shore south of Beirut. They had been driven from Acre and Galilee and streamed through Nazareth over the border into Lebanon. For the most part they walked the whole way. In August 1948 an open refugee tent camp was established. Two camps developed around Sidon to take care of some of the exiles, Ein Hilweh in the valley and Mieh Mieh on the hill. After three years they were still living in the same camps in the same tents, now tattered. Only a few more substantial huts had been erected. They had fallen into the deadly groove of refugee life, their necessities of life being provided by outside agencies, their own efforts limited to the absolute minimum commensurate with survival, their thoughts dominated by bitter resentment against everyone—the great powers, the Arab governments, the Jews, even the agencies which made life possible. Any form of self-help or enterprise had come to be identified as betrayal of the goal of return to the ancient homeland.

This is just one illustration of what happened all around Israel. Huge tent camps sprawled not only in Lebanon but also to a smaller extent in Syria, to an enormous extent in Jordan, and to crammed overcapacity in the Gaza Strip.²¹ When the movement had subsided, it was found that the refugees in Lebanon amounted to 7.4 percent of the population, in Syria to 2.4 percent, in Jordan to an amazing 56.3 percent—well over half—and in the Gaza Strip to a number three times that of the settled population.²² No one knows, statistically, how many refugees there were then, let alone now. About 900,000 fled from Jewish-occupied areas north into Lebanon and Syria, west into Jordan, and south toward Egypt.²³ Political factors have made it impossible even to obtain a clear census of refugees. Part of the difficulty is related to the all-important ration card, a status symbol beyond any other. Dead men are still drawing rations. Persons who were never refugees draw rations. Rations are drawn for non-

²¹ One of the best all-around accounts of the Arab refugees is Frank L. Hutchinson, *Refugees from Palestine*, from which much of the material in this section is drawn.

²² Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, p. 13.

²³ Survey in ILO, *International Migration*, pp. 19, 101 ff.

existent children. A ration card is a pearl of great price. It may mean that its holder is better off than a permanent resident without one. This situation is only a part of the heavy price the world must continue to pay for the duration of a problem the solution to which is not yet in sight, after twenty years.

To serve the bare needs of these helpless people a large organization was needed. For political and perhaps even less defensible reasons the Arab states refused to accept responsibility for relief and rehabilitation. In any case they could not possibly have afforded it. The Arab world was just beginning to wake up to the necessities of the twentieth century and had little productive capacity of any kind. The story of the flight itself may be said to have been completed by 1949. In that year the story of the development of the problem of the Arab refugees began. Until then efforts to help were improvised and uncoordinated. The United Nations Relief for Palestinian Refugees provided survival subsistence, and several voluntary agencies came in rapidly with limited help in a situation which everyone, not just the refugees themselves, assumed was an emergency that would be resolved with the establishment of peace between Israel and her neighbors. No one had the prescience to know that the "emergency" would last through the next twenty years! This optimistic—or obtuse—interpretation of the problem as an "emergency" would plague operations from then on.

Involvement of the churches came almost immediately, in the form of a cable sent 21 July 1948, shortly after *de facto* partition, from a few concerned Christians working in Palestine to the Federal Council of Churches.²⁴ With the formation of an on-the-scenes committee the experienced relief operation of the World Council of Churches was brought into the new crisis. Both before and through all the vicissitudes, therefore, of the international work of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency (UNRWA), the voluntary agencies of the churches were busy in single-minded service to the Arab refugees. In 1949 an International Economic Survey Commission of the United Nations made a thorough study and report, the outcome of which was the establishment by the United Nations of UNRWA in 1950.²⁵ This agency, which was given a short term of existence, was authorized to provide temporary relief to needy refugees until the real work of repatriation and rehabilitation could be accomplished. It was thought that its task could be accomplished by 1953! History was to demonstrate a total disregard for political presuppositions as the problem of the Arab refugees, far from being solved,

²⁴ Text in Hutchison, p. 1.

²⁵ Bentwich, p. 170.

increased with the passing years until it threatened to become a permanent fixture of global tension.

By 1951 the voluntary agencies were aware that the refugee problem would not simply go away. An international conference was called jointly by the World Council of Churches, the International Missionary Council, and the Near East Christian Council, to be held in Beirut, Lebanon, 4–8 May, 1951.²⁶ Out of this conference came the main outlines of subsequent organization of service to refugees by the voluntary agencies. The conference was well organized for the work of fifty delegates. Its several recommendations led to the formation of both the Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugee Work (NECCCRW) and the Central Coordinating Committee of Voluntary Agencies (CCCVA).²⁷ The former was the most active and effective in carrying through major programs of church relief. The latter, which languished for lack of funds and staff, was useful in bringing together all the different groups, including NECCCRW, for better coordination. The story of the work of the churches in Arab refugee relief is a major aspect of the particular relation of the Christian church to refugee history in this period, a topic dealt with in a later chapter. W. A. Visser 't Hooft, general secretary of the WCC, placed the concern of the churches in proper focus in insisting that for them the problem was a "human problem," not a political or economic one. That human factors were involved was made clear in the report by the representative of UNRWA, who testified, as early as 1951, that "corroding idleness is having its effect and in some areas there is considerable cause for worry."²⁸ He also explained the reluctance to do away with temporary tents on the ground that construction of barracks would "defeat an early settlement of the refugee problem." Further, he spoke of direct opposition to the works projects, even though they in the main failed of their purpose: "We spent some millions on public works last year without making one refugee permanently self-supporting." The conference statement was quite realistic in its appraisal of the possibilities of final solution:

We are convinced that there can be no permanent solution of the problem of the Palestinian refugees until there is a settlement of the outstanding political differences between the Arab states and Israel. . . . Such a settlement will have

²⁶ See WCC, *Report of a Conference on Arab Refugee Problems* (Geneva, 1951).

²⁷ This particular story is well told in Christina H. Jones, *Ten Years of Service*. Her husband, Willard, was for many years in charge of NECC refugee work. Dr. Glora Wysner, an active participant, gave me invaluable personal insights on many occasions as this history took form.

²⁸ *Report of Beirut Conference*, p. 21.

to contain provision for the return of a certain number of refugees to their original homes. It must also include a general plan of compensation for refugees whether they return or not. . . . Yet, while we recognize the basic right of all refugees to their homes and property, nevertheless a careful appraisal of the total situation has compelled us to conclude, however, that many Palestinian refugees will have to settle in new homes.²⁹

This kind of forthright expression took courage in the midst of a tense situation fraught with emotional and violent pressures. Many richer and more powerful political participants were not free to call a spade a spade. Even the mere suggestion that some Arab refugees might return to life in Israel, or that others might be permanently settled and rehabilitated apart from a return to their original lands, drew out almost bestial ferocity among some of the antagonists. Always the refugees themselves were pawns in great games played on a board far above their lowly lives.

Thus, year after year, the hundreds of thousands in camps festered. Gradually tents gave way to huts and to more permanent barracks. The last of the tents disappeared in the Gaza Strip in 1955 and were gone from all the camps by 1958.³⁰ A small number of refugees were actually permitted to return to Israel, most of them special cases involving reunion of families. Israel offered to take back a hundred thousand and rehabilitate them if the Arab nations would accept and take care of the rest.³¹ Questions about release of Arab bank accounts and compensation for real estate were tied in with a permanent peace settlement, which never came.

By 1960 it was clear to many informed observers that the intransigence of both Israel and the Arab nations made a simple solution of the issue impossible. It began to look as if the refugee problem would be present as long as the refugees lived. So many political and personal qualifications entered into every plan that it seemed nothing could be done. Toward the end of the year Director John H. Davis reported to the Special Political Committee of the United Nations, which held lengthy debate on the Palestine refugee question. Referring to the long and sad story of hopeless stagnation in the camps, he said, "Viewed by any standards, the plight of these people during the past twelve years stands out as a dark page in human history."³² At a time when the Arab world was awakening painfully to the dynamic of modern nationalism, the refugees were

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁰ Edgar H. E. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, p. 128, photograph of Jebalia Camp; *World Health*, Nov. 1963, p. 4.

³¹ Miller, p. 106.

³² UNRWA, *Palestine Refugees Today*, Dec. 1960, p. 4, taken from his address.

caught in the web of international rivalry and intrigue. While some of them could actually look out from the camps and see, a few miles away across the border, the fields from which they had been driven without compensation being worked by strangers who had come from afar, they were unable to move a muscle in defense of the land they loved so well, land that was theirs, land—for all its obstinate hardness and arid poor-ness—that had been the source of life for centuries. Because they concentrated so single-mindedly on the one great fact of lost homeland, they were unwilling to consider the possibility of resettlement elsewhere, even if it had been offered. Rather they would remain almost permanently grounded in jerry-built camps as a living testimony that the only solution was return to the ancestral plot. Life as a refugee became almost a vocation, a symbol of the great wrong inflicted on helpless people. In this way a most virulent form of refugee mentality arose as a blight. Islam encouraged just such fatalism, which declared that these things are the inscrutable will of Allah. Allah will provide in due time. Christian refugees, who account for about 10 percent of the total,³³ did not find refuge in fatalism as did the Moslems, but their sense of outraged justice developed in them equal bitterness. Moreover, the obvious superiority of the West in every aspect of daily life—its greater power, energy, know-how, and get-up-and-go—did not at all affect the abiding faith of the Arab Moslem that ultimately the Empire of Islam would conquer all. However puzzling the ways of Allah might be, the outcome was crystal clear. His will would prevail. In the meantime the Arab refugee, shut up in his miserable camp, nursed the sensitive hurts of past injustices and developed huge prejudices against—well, the British for their betrayal of promises made; Americans, especially President Truman, for failure to defy the British; the powers of Europe for callous politicking; the Jews for their seizure of the ancient land; even UNRWA for unspecified intrigues and double-dealing, for hoarding food and withholding supplies rightfully theirs, for enriching itself at their expense. The time came when mental aberration was capable of believing any rumor, provided it was bad. "The enemy of my enemy is my friend." But also the friend of my enemy is my enemy. Ultimately this process becomes refugee paranoia.

Of course Davis did not say this in his report. No one in an official position would permit such views to be published. But he did put forward a new proposal, or rather emphasized as primary a program which had not received sufficient attention: employment of refugees in neighbor-

³³ Hutchison, p. 20.

ing Arab countries. Even if the psychological and political blocks could be removed, these nations would not be able to help much. They were already pushing to the limit their available resources to provide employment for their own poor citizens. So many of the refugees were farmers and unskilled workers, for which the nations had the least need. Perhaps little could be done for those who had languished for twelve years in the camps. But what could be done for the more than 300,000 young people who had actually been born in the camps, born refugees? Davis' answer was a five-point program designed to rescue at least the able young people from the hopeless situation into which their elders had fallen:

- (1) construction of five new vocational training centers over the next three years, to provide for an output of 2,500 graduates by June 1963, as compared with 300 last year;
- (2) the increase from 90 to 180 in the number of university scholarships awarded to first-year students;
- (3) expansion of elementary and secondary education;
- (4) continuation of a programme of loans and grants to enable individual refugees to become self-supporting;
- (5) continuation of UNRWA's relief services at present levels.⁵⁴

This program, the core of which was vocational training for young people, was put into effect so far as funds permitted. By 1963 there were 4,000 enrolled in two-year courses of training.⁵⁵ Thirteen new projects were being developed, secondary school training had been expanded, and five hundred university scholarships were available. The program has continued, in spite of some opposition both without and within the international agency. At the same time the number of children and young people whose entire life has been in the camps increased to over 424,000.⁵⁶

The situation in 1964 was summarized in the Annual Report of the director of UNRWA and published under the title "UNRWA 1965 in Facts and Figures." Inevitably it began with a note to the effect that "no discernible progress" had been made toward a solution. Of the total number of refugees in neighboring Arab countries, about half were destitute and completely dependent; about a third were partially self-supporting; and the rest, perhaps a fifth or less, were rehabilitated and self-supporting. There were ten training centers for 3,900 young people, and more university scholarships. Almost half of the budget went for

⁵⁴ *Palestine Refugees Today*, Dec. 1960, p. 6.

⁵⁵ USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10, p. 10.

⁵⁶ Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, *Inasmuch*, no. 28, Oct. 1964.

direct relief, 13 percent for health, and 42 percent for education and training. About 70 percent of the one and a quarter million refugees received basic daily rations; 483,000 persons were still living in fifty-four camps; 212,000 children were going to school, three-quarters of them in UNRWA schools. In addition 112 clinics for public health were maintained. Over half of the refugees were living in Jordan, and a quarter (289,000) were in the tiny Gaza Strip. Although the number of registered refugees and the number living in camps had gradually increased over the fourteen years since 1950, the number who received daily rations remained about the same. The size of individual camps varied from small (Mar Elias in Lebanon), with 391 persons, to very large (Rafah in the Gaza Strip), with 43,000. Considerable emphasis was laid in the report on the continuation and expansion of vocational training centers, of which there were ten, including a large one for girls at Ramallah. I visited the new center at Siblin, near Sidon in Lebanon, in 1965.³⁷ It lay on an impressive site on the hillside overlooking the sea. Sixteen trade skills, including tool and die making, are taught here. UNRWA also trains instructors for the schools. No aspect of the apparently insoluble problem is more heartening and encouraging than the sight of hundreds of young men being given the knowledge and skills by which they, at least, can escape the dreadful morass of refugee camp life. Siblin is a shining example of hope. Recognizing this, the churches, through NECCCRW and the Lutheran World Federation, have invested considerable money and effort in supplementing the work of UNRWA in the field of vocational training.

The camps will not be cleared by vocational training for youth. Huge Aqabet Jaber Camp, sprawling over the hot plain just outside Jericho, down by the Dead Sea, still houses its thousands, although they now live in huts with thick mud and straw roofs. The dust still swirls as the wind eddies around the narrow passages between the serried huts. People still crowd one another as they seek shelter from the burning sun or fresh air in a cool moment. They still walk around aimlessly, or sit listlessly, brooding on past sufferings and injustice and perhaps dreaming of future revenge. Right next to the camp itself, however, the YMCA has built an impressive vocational training school for boys and the YWCA has an adjoining school for girls. Here bright-eyed lads and girls are learning the skills, acquiring the knowledge, for life in the free world of the twentieth century. Their lot is not fortunate, nor are their prospects particularly bright. But they at least have a life in their future. They are not inextricably caught.

³⁷ 14 Oct. 1965, in company with Constantin Vlachopoulos, UNRWA official.

There are other signs of hope. The man's world of the Near East, the male dominance of Islam, is being adjusted to the necessities of life in a new world. A recent issue of *Palestine Refugees Today*³⁸ reveals the degree to which women have been freed from the ancient subjection. This phenomenon of course is not limited to refugees. But the fact is that women in refugee camps have taken on new stature, if only in relation to the degradation of their husbands. Women are taught chiefly the better household skills that make home life more pleasant, but some of them are able to go on to fuller education.

Again, occasional projects overcome political obstructionism and offer employment and dignity to many refugees. In the Jordan River valley lies an agricultural irrigation project financed by the Development Bank of Jordan, an institution supported jointly by UNRWA and the government of Jordan. Refugees living in the Karamen Camp have been able to become almost self-supporting by developing an irrigated farm for production of tomatoes and other truck crops. When they have paid back the loan, they will own the land. This farm is one of twenty-three projects being financed in this way.³⁹

In the same way the voluntary organizations have supplemented this kind of program. A case in point is the Musa Alami farm and vocational training center for boys near Jericho, which grew from the dreams and enterprise of Musa Bey Alami, a former government official in Palestine and a Cambridge graduate. A voluntary foundation now supports it.

What of the future? Is there a solution? Many experts are convinced that not much can be done for the older refugees who have been in camps for years. Recent political developments suggest that the intransigence which has prevented resettlement of refugees is weakening. Spokesmen for the voluntary agencies admit that progress is quietly being made in resettlement and rehabilitation. Not all of the money is going into the bottomless pit of survival relief. More and more the relief work does not make a distinction between needy refugee and needy Arab.⁴⁰ In specific instances projects for rehabilitation which involve self-support and permanent settlement have been started. These, like the ones cited above, offer hope of independent income and a life free of the dismal restrictions of the camp.⁴¹ A 1964 consultation called by the Near East Christian Council in Jerusalem emphasized the interest of

³⁸ No. 39, Jan.-Feb. 1965, pp. 3-8.

³⁹ USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1964-65*, p. 9.

⁴⁰ So J. Richard Butler, interview in Jerusalem, 18 Oct. 1965.

⁴¹ An enterprise supported by NECCCRW is Wadi Zerka, a small agricultural development near Amman, WCC *Newsletter*, 3 June 1965.

the churches in helping refugees become "self-sufficient, participating, and contributing members of society." ⁴²

Yet all these efforts for settlement of the refugee problem are of no avail apart from the achievement of peace in the Middle East, as became painfully evident in June 1967, when Israel and her Arab neighbors once more went to war. Again an inevitable result was the rise of yet another stream of refugees, this time from the Jordanian west bank across the river into the eastern portions of the Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan.⁴³ A lesser stream fled from the smaller conquered section of Syria, but it was sufficient almost to depopulate parts of the area. Damascus received the Syrian refugees. In Jordan the situation was much more serious as almost 200,000 west bank Arabs crossed the Jordan. At first the Israelis actively assisted the departures with free transportation. Homeless refugees climbed over the ruins of the Allenby Bridge, or swam the river. Once in Jordan all they could do was increase the already large numbers of unemployed, which rose to 25 percent of the population. They were housed in schools and mosques, and ten new tent camps were opened, hot and dry in the desert—which would freeze in winter. Although Jordan alone of the Arab countries had encouraged refugees to find permanent employment, there were simply no jobs available. After a couple of weeks the United Nations and the voluntary services resumed the regular feeding programs. The usual charges of atrocities were made on both sides. Almost no new refugees came from the north into Lebanon, where there was little fighting, or from the south into Egypt, where the military activity was over before anyone could flee. The Israelis in Gaza found themselves the unhappy custodians of the swarms of 600,000 Arab refugees left over from the struggles of 1948.

By mid-July the stream of refugees had ended, and a small movement back into west bank areas began.⁴⁴ Arrangements were finally made for the recent refugees (but none of the old ones) to recross the river over the temporarily repaired Allenby Bridge. But the process was so slow that only a small portion of the 170,000 who wished to return home would be able to do so before the deadline, set for 31 August. For those who did get over the Israelis had ready food and transportation, as well as temporary shelter when needed. But pleas from the United Nations and the World Council of Churches that the deadline be extended by Israel were refused. Nevertheless, according to *Time*, refugees continued to

⁴² *Ibid.*, 9 June 1964.

⁴³ *Time*, 23 June and 7 July 1967.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 14 July, 25 Aug., and 1 Sept. 1967.

recross the Jordan after the formal closing of the barrier, and those who came were received and resettled in their homes. Approval had been given for the return of 21,000 refugees before the deadline, but 7,000 even of these were still on the east side.

No final solution will be arrived at until the wider political problems have been solved. Bitterness is still very much alive. Israel survives in a sea of hostile Arabs, many of whom wait eagerly for the day when Israel will be pushed into the sea. Yet irenic aspects are not totally absent. In 1956 an Arab-Israel Society arose in Haifa dedicated to work toward a peaceful settlement. Various plans have been projected and not utterly rejected for various degrees of repatriation, restitution, compensation, and resettlement. A movement still exists dating from the period before partition, which favors a binational commonwealth. Granted that these efforts have been mostly fruitless, their very existence indicates some degree of openness to possible solutions. In the end perhaps the solution will be found only by Father Time. As my old high school English teacher, Mrs. Dell McAfee Naylor, used to say, "Time is a mighty leveler."

Chapter 34

The Far East

*T*he major thrust of this history, except for the introductory biblical materials, has been centered in the Western world. Even the developments in the previous chapter on the Near East were closely related to Western affairs. In the twentieth century, however, the world has become one in many ways, not all of them desirable. Forced migration is not a phenomenon limited to one hemisphere. Even Africa has recently become a stage for refugee movements. Of course, migration of peoples in the Orient has a long history, necessarily omitted here because our emphasis has remained throughout on Christian manifestations of refugee movements. In the global perspectives of modern times these Christian strains merge with the mass movements which have been discussed, both in the East and in the West. Thus we turn now to the story of the largest sudden mass movement of all time (outside of China), the forced and violent exchange of populations between India and Pakistan following the partition of 1947.

A. South Asia

The roots of the trouble that exploded in 1947 lie deep in the history of the Indian subcontinent. Ancient Hinduism and more recent Islam exhibit continuous tension, ever since the Moslem Mogul period of the seventeenth century. This is no surprise, because in almost every respect the two religions stand in stark contrast, a contrast symbolized by the absolute antithesis of polytheism and monotheism. Hinduism was broadly syncretistic and tolerant, Islam was exclusive and intolerant, even though one rightly points to Moslem acceptance of Old Testament traditions and

partial toleration of Christian minorities in some parts of Europe. Hindu religious and social customs conflicted directly with Islamic practices. The societies engendered by the two faiths clashed at all levels. For example, Moslems ate the beef of cattle, which the Hindus held sacred and therefore untouchable. But Hindus raised and slaughtered swine, which the Moslems held unclean and therefore untouchable. The easiest way to "get the other's goat" was to play vindictive games with animals. Politically the contrast was between quiescent pacifistic anarchism and aggressive militant theocracy.

The religious division was only the deepest of many diversities which tended to break vast India into pieces. Linguistic variety exhibited in over eight hundred languages and dialects was a very real Babel. Ethnic differences have been so strong that Indians visibly differ from one another today. Caste has long laid its baneful burden on the Indian social structure. Fundamental to Hinduism, it has infiltrated even the strongly egalitarian culture of Islam. Economic extremes separate the people if nothing else does. Nowhere else in the world is there greater disparity between unbelievable wealth and abject poverty. The arrival of the British, far from eliminating these many differences, only deposited a veneer of Western culture. It provided a superficial unity of sorts that made possible the creation of two huge new nations in 1947. But it also resulted in a three-sided struggle for independence.

In the years before partition thirty-eight million Moslems (two-fifths of all Moslems in India) lived *outside* the area which became Pakistan. Conversely, twenty million non-Moslems lived *inside* that area.¹ These figures must be kept in mind in order that proper perspective be maintained. The migrations following partition were so huge that one easily assumes that *all* the Moslems fled to Pakistan and *all* the Hindus fled to India. As a matter of fact, very large minorities of each were left unmoved (although not undisturbed). In 1960 India had a Moslem minority of about 10 percent and Pakistan a non-Moslem total of 12 percent, of whom the Hindus of East Pakistan constituted 18 percent of the population of that section.²

Partition brought into existence two new nations, the smaller of which, Pakistan, with a population of ninety-four million people, was the sixth largest nation in the world. India has 450 million. Hence *any* movement in these countries is likely to involve immense masses of people. Infinitesimal percentages add up to millions. These were the abun-

¹ Donald R. Taft and Richard Robbins, *International Migrations*, p. 328.

² According to figures in the 1965 edition of *Encyclopaedia Britannica*.

dant raw materials for the radical surgery that produced independence. Blood flowed. The complicated story need not be told here. Suffice it to say that the pressures and tensions were threefold between the British and the Hindus and the Moslems. In turn the Moslems especially were divided by the issue of separatist nationalism as over against cooperation with the British against the Hindus. The Indian Congress and the Muslim League served to concentrate political power in competitive camps with the British in the middle, muddling through. The Indian Independence Act of July 1947 opened the way to the formal proclamation of two autonomous dominions, 15 August 1947. Presently both new countries moved to full sovereignty associated with the British Commonwealth of Nations.

Almost immediately violent explosions shook the land. Riots took on a mass character completely beyond the ability of the inadequate and confused—and involved—military and police to control. Immediately after partition especially in the western section huge mobs assailed groups of the opposite faith, either those fleeing to cross the frontier or those trying to hide in their homes. Frequently trainloads of refugees were massacred without consideration of age or sex. Long lines on foot were scattered and murdered. It was a horrible time of mass violence which could only have occurred in a land of concentrated population like India—or China. It does not sound serious if described in terms of fractional percentages. But these added up to over a million persons murdered in cold blood, not counting the millions who simply died along the way from starvation, exposure, disease, or the vulnerability of infancy or old age. During August and September and on into the “pleasant” season of autumn the anarchy continued. It became impossible to determine whether specific acts were unprovoked or were in retaliation for preceding terror from the other side. Each side automatically believed the worst about the other and discounted or ignored its own sins. Especially was the Punjab in the west rent, for here the people, Punjabi and Sikhs, witnessed the truncation of their ancient home in the interests of Moslem Pakistan and Hindu India. This former state, and Bengal in the east, were divided in half. The idea was for a peaceful transfer of population to fit the new politico-religious border. The transfer took place, but it was anything but peaceful. Unthinking fear multiplied the force of overt terror as thousands fled from both sides to the other. Many of those who stayed behind were massacred. The grisly process lasted several months and broke out again and again in the next four years. The greatest violence in the Punjab came early, that in Bengal came later, in 1950 and 1951. Fed by inflammatory press reports, riots broke out anew in Bengal,

resulting in more millions passing one another in flight across the border in opposite directions. When attempts were made to guess at the number of people involved, it was found that by March 1948 six million Hindus and Sikhs had entered India from West Pakistan as six and a half million Moslems left. By 1950 four million Hindus had come into India from East Pakistan as one million Moslems left.³

Although these migrations involved directly only a very small percentage of the population, taken together they constitute probably the greatest sudden forced migration of people in history. Only one mitigating factor relieved the burden of violence, tension, and disaster. The refugees moved into lands in which they might expect naturally a relatively generous welcome. They were going to seek refuge with coreligionists and compatriots. This does not mean, however, as Jacques Vernant suggests,⁴ that they found a ready acceptance and easy assimilation anywhere. Rather, the same difficulties which faced all refugees faced them: loss of home roots and especially in India the ancestral land, emotional confusion and exhaustion, linguistic and cultural strangeness, local suspicion and isolation, and economic discrimination and opposition. Nevertheless, they did remain in what had been a somewhat diverse political unit, traditionally the "same land." They did find acceptance with their fellow Hindus and fellow Moslems. They did experience the same nationalistic excitement that stirred all India.

When the exchanges were mostly over, it was discovered that almost all of the Hindus had left West Pakistan. At one time the Indian government was giving aid to one million persons. The first tidal wave came in without any control or direction whatsoever, but gradually the governments of both India and Pakistan devised plans for organization and control of the movements. Increasingly both sides became more chary of unlimited free migration across frontiers and imposed immigration restrictions. At first the refugees tended to crowd into a few urban centers. Later they were more evenly dispersed around the country. Most of those who came had no intention of returning to their homes. An exception is the refugees from both sides in Jammu and Kashmir, where both the refugees themselves and the two governments concerned kept alive the intention of returning to reclaim the land. Especially insistent on this point were the Pakistanis. Although the migrants were extremely poor, the more successful and better educated were more likely to give up an

³ According to *ibid.*, which gives the clearest as well as probably the most reliable estimates. See also ILO, *International Migration*, pp. 108 ff.

⁴ In his ch. xxx of *Refugee in the Post-War World*, pp. 735 ff.

impossible situation and seek a new life. Even so the average *annual* income was about \$150.⁵

Particularly knotty was the Kashmir problem, which at the end of 1947 was submitted to the United Nations. There were Hindus and Sikhs who fled from the section of Azad Kashmir to Indian-controlled sections. There were Moslems who fled to Azad Kashmir. There were refugees on both sides who left the province for neighboring portions of India and Pakistan. All were refugees, although those who remained in the land were technically not so. In the case of Kashmir the policies of the governments differ radically from those applied to most of the rest of the countries. Here the political issue of Kashmir was the overriding factor. Pakistan followed strictly the line that this refugee movement was temporary, pending the settlement which would permit a return to vote in plebiscite and to regain the former homes. It was a position in many ways strikingly similar to the attitude taken by the Arab governments in the Near East. In India two differing policies conflicted, the one insisting that, since Kashmir is already all Indian, all Kashmir citizens are Indian citizens, the other following the attitude assumed by Pakistan, in reverse. In 1947 about 150,000 persons took refuge in Azad Kashmir and 300,000 in Pakistan. This highly volatile problem continued unresolved and led directly to the outbreak of war between India and Pakistan in the fall of 1965. The refugees, like those caught in the power struggle between Israel and the Arab world, are today still widely regarded as "temporary."

There have been recent movements elsewhere. Ecumenical Press Service reported in February 1964 that large movements of refugees from East Pakistan into India, especially to Assam, had begun.⁶ Between fifty and eighty thousand persons crossed the border within one month, and many more followed. By April the Indian and Pakistani authorities were both claiming that 200,000 people had been forced out in one direction or the other, largely in eastern Indian and in East Pakistan.⁷ Again widespread and continued rioting was the immediate cause of the exodus, although the recurrence of cyclical famine contributed. Moslems in Dacca attacked Hindu mill workers. Mobs in Calcutta burned and ravaged Moslem homes and businesses. There was little new about all this. One new feature of the movement, however, was the involvement for the first time of a sizable group of Christians, who fled from East Pakistan to Assam. Refugee camps again overflowed with too many people trying to survive on too sparse support in too little space. Attempts to achieve

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 750.

⁶ Ecumenical Press Service, 27 Feb. 1964; also 30 July 1964.

⁷ *Time*, 10 Apr. 1964, p. 34.

rapid integration and dispersal could not keep up with the new influx each day. Both India and Pakistan made one-sided propaganda to the detriment of the other side. The Christian contingent consisted largely of several thousand hill tribesmen, mostly Protestant, who crossed into Assam and settled around Cooch Behar. A recent report by J. Harry Haines states that 273,000 people fled to north India, 23,000 of them Christians.⁸ They are located in Assam and West Bengal. Seven thousand Moslems left India to settle in East Pakistan. In Assam these people have moved toward other refugees who were forced south into north Assam at the time of the Chinese invasion of India in the North East Frontier Agency.⁹

Out of the welter of crises came efforts by the government to organize services and control movements. First to demand attention was transport and communication. Next came provision of food and especially water. Control of public health followed. Finally the authorities addressed themselves to the problems of resettlement and land, including housing and compensation for lost property. The army was effective in the early months. Later civilian agencies were organized, and international groups, such as UNICEF, WHO, and the International Red Cross, helped. As always the churches, both through the National Christian Council and through international enterprises, were active in relief of suffering.

The situation of refugees differed in different parts of the two countries and at various times. In the Indian part of the Punjab, for example, most of the trained mechanics left when the Moslems were driven out. Here was a major problem of vocational training. Similar impasses were faced with the many farming people for whom no suitable land could be found. Some refugees from rainy tropical forests found themselves settled on arid lands characterized by great seasonal changes of climate. In every case except that of Kashmir the refugees automatically were made citizens of the respective countries. Theoretically they were on the same footing as other citizens. All the more difficult, therefore, were relations with local people who understandably regarded the newcomers as competitors. In some places, as in Delhi, the refugees set up many tiny shops in direct competition with the already numerous local shops. Especially trying was the effort to untangle the property rights in both countries. The exchange of people in the west was relatively even, so that abandoned land on each side was available for redistribution to newcomers on a supposedly equal basis without undue burden on the governments. But in Bengal the inflow of Hindu refugees far outweighed the counter-

⁸ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Jan. 1965.

⁹ USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10.

movement of Moslems. Pakistan and India consulted their respective pocketbooks in the dealings for compensation for property. Nevertheless, much more was accomplished here than in the Arab problem of the Near East. Most of the refugees from West Punjab got land in East Punjab not too radically different from what they were used to. In Bengal, on the other hand, only difficult swamp land was available in the crowded areas of the Ganges River valley. In Punjab, therefore, few of the refugees entertained hopes of going back home. They were well enough settled in new homes and wished to stay. In Bengal, however, more people had difficulty in integrating as permanent residents because they were unhappy with their lot and longed for their original homes.¹⁰ The problem, exceedingly complex, of judicious compensation for abandoned property has continued to exacerbate bruised feelings on both sides. The temptation to turn the charges and countercharges to political and propaganda advantage has further complicated the work.

The task of retraining for different vocations has been made harder by lack of funds and a universally low level of literacy and education. Not much could be done for the refugees without placing them in a position superior to that of the general population. This aspect, in fact, has become an overriding limitation on all refugee work in India. How can efforts be justly made, especially by religious agencies, to improve the lot of the refugee in a land in which almost all the people live on bare subsistence levels? Is the starvation of refugees any more tragic than the annual starvation following insufficient harvests? How much should be expended on refugee housing in a nation in which millions sleep on the streets or in the fields? Is the refugees' worry about the next meal and work for the next year worse than the universal insecurity? Ultimately the problem of the refugee in a country like India or Pakistan becomes the central problem of all overpopulated areas, a problem of population control. The refugee eats if the nation eats.

The obstacles in the way of refugee resettlement are well illustrated by the story of the refugees in the Sealdah Railway Station in Calcutta. At the time of the World Refugee Year, when Bengal Refugee Service came into being as an outgrowth of "Project Doya" sponsored by the Indian NCC and CWS,¹¹ about eight thousand people were living in the station and its adjacent buildings, most of them left over from the mass movements from East Bengal at the time of partition. They had

¹⁰ Testimony of P. C. Joseph, director of NCC Relief Committee, in interview in Calcutta, 2 Nov. 1965. His work is a continuation and a mopping up of activities begun by the Bengal Refugee Service.

¹¹ Ecumenical Press Service, 12 Feb. 1960 and 22 July 1960.

poured into Calcutta on packed trains which disgorged their cargo in the Sealdah terminal and went back for more. Since the exiles had nowhere else to go, they simply squatted in the station itself and they were still there in 1964. Once Sealdah was one of the busiest railroad stations in the world, located in the heart of crowded downtown Calcutta. It was the main station for the eastern or Bengal lines. It was, and is, a principal commuter center. For years travelers were forced to pick their way through crowds of squatter families occupying all but narrow paths through the station. People walked to trains amid sleeping mats, cooking pots, crying babies, families in little knots in full view of the travelers and their close neighbors. Each family had a little space for itself to which it clung tenaciously. Often some sort of partition was built of scrap materials, a wall or curtain, to offer minimal privacy for a life in which there was no privacy. Cooking of meals and overcrowding of sanitary facilities provided rich odors, and clothes, dirty and drying, offered decoration. Outside, under the wide eaves, hundreds of tiny huts built of scraps added "facilities." Here was a setting, almost unique, for the dramatic presentation of the worst aspects of refugee life—crowding, noise, squalor, dirt, disease, children, dying elders—all in a ghastly potpourri of suffering humanity.

Early in 1964 a project got under way for the final resettlement of these people in communities on the outskirts of Calcutta, places in which they could breathe fresh air and see the sun.¹² The plan was threefold: The poorest, unemployed, were to be taken to the communities on the outskirts. Those who had some work in Calcutta would receive assistance in settling suitably in the city. A few with more substantial incomes (although still poor) would be resettled individually. The churches were directly involved in this project from the start through the Bengal Refugee Service, which administered help provided by the Indian churches and by international groups. Harry Haines, then of DICARWS, wrote his eyewitness account as the change began:

This morning I watched a family tear down their house and they laughed as they worked. Next door the neighbors were doing the same thing and by mid-afternoon 100 families had gathered together their few possessions ready to start a new life. No one was quite sure it was true. For many years these 100 families and 1137 other families had lived in misery, fear, illness, and insecurity in what many described as "the worst refugee camp in Asia." Yet it had been "home," and hundreds of children had never known any other. At midnight the 100 families boarded a special train bound for Shamnagar, 20 miles to the north of

¹² *Ibid.*, 19 Mar. 1964; DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Mar. 1964, p. 15.

Calcutta. Once a week another 100 families will join the first group until all 1237 families have been moved out of Sealdah. Housed in tents at first each family will be busy making bricks and building its own home under expert supervision. At Shamnagar there will be schools for the children who have never gone to school, a clinic, and above all fresh air, and fields for the children to roam across.¹³

By the end of March some of the houses built with locally manufactured bricks were approaching completion. Early in March the sixty families who had lived for eight years in the adjoining customs shed (100' x 34') were moved out. When the project was completed on 7 May, eight thousand people had been relocated in surrounding communities where they were building their own homes and beginning improvement of the land.¹⁴ The cost to the churches, which bore the burden of financing this major work, was about a half-million dollars. Government and secular voluntary agencies had almost given up hope of rehabilitation of these refugees. Criticism came from some who questioned the expenditure of so much money on so few people of whom so little could be expected in the midst of a nation of such teeming need. The churches in this case decided to undertake a humanitarian project which would not otherwise have been attempted. Arguments against the move included the fact that rail traffic in the station was nowhere near what it had been before the shutting off of the eastern lines by partition. Critics also pointed to the alleged low quality of person and the unlikely prospect of useful rehabilitation. The answer to all doubts was to go ahead and see what could be done in faith.

I visited the station and two of the new communities in the fall of 1965. Only memories linger of the teeming crowd that had for long years called this cavernous structure home. Imagination was stretched to envision the multiple family units crowded along all the walls inside and out. The shacks are gone, as are the people. The still busy station has reverted to its former purpose. In the new locations, far off the main roads, accessible still only by a narrow dirt road, work proceeds fitfully. Most of the houses are up now, although more are building. They are good houses, as Indian dwellings go. In one community three hundred families are living, in the other four hundred. The brick houses are firm and skillfully constructed, although not artistically finished. The school buildings are large and sunny, the most pleasant spots in the camps. One colony inherited an orchard which serves as a sort of town square

¹³ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Mar. 1964, p. 15.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, Apr. 1964, p. 12; June 1964, p. 10.

or common. Here children played freely, while their elders complained to the director of the refugee service about various troubles.¹⁵ One did not like the building provided for craftwork and activity. Others were grumbling about the hard labor of providing draining in this low-lying half-swampy region. Some observers have expressed the opinion that the refugees from East Bengal are congenitally lazy and lacking in initiative. However that may be, this day I saw people walking and working in the fresh open air and living in homes of their own, sending their children to school across the orchard lot, improving their land, however grudgingly—and they were the same people who for years had languished hopelessly in the sordid environment of the Sealdah station, the people who had been given up for hopeless and helpless by official agencies. If anything could give them a new lease on life, this effort of the churches would do it.

An altogether separate chapter of the history of refugees in India concerns the Tibetans. This story began in 1950, when armed forces of Communist China invaded the isolated high plateau country of Tibet. It was overrun in spite of resistance by the almost unarmed Tibetan people. A revolutionary effort to regain independence failed and was followed by brutal suppression apparently directed toward the obliteration of Tibet and its culture. The Dalai Lama, spiritual and perforce political head of the people, escaped in 1959 in order that he might give leadership to his people in exile. Disguised as a poor priest he moved out of the summer palace by night and traveled, on foot and horseback, over the Himalaya Mountains along trails as high as nineteen thousand feet to reach Assam, the nearest province of India, after several weeks.¹⁶

On the heels of their leader hundreds and then thousands of people followed. The routes were such as only hardy Tibetans, accustomed to great heights, rarefied atmosphere, and physical privation, could successfully negotiate. These were the offscourings of a concerted and premeditated plan by the Chinese to wipe out any semblance of independent Tibetan civilization. If thousands of the people, or possibly all of them, had to be wiped out also, so be it. Indeed many thousands, including large numbers of children, were deported to China for forced labor. Estimates of the number of refugees who escaped over the mountains into India, Nepal, and Sikkim vary from 50,000 to 100,000. The route over the mountains varies upward from seventy miles long, as perilous a way as can be found anywhere in the world. Sometimes groups of children, sent

¹⁵ Inspection with P. C. Joseph, 2 Nov. 1965.

¹⁶ USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1964-65*, article by Thubten Norbu, brother of the Dalai Lama, pp. 3-4.

off secretly by parents who could not follow them, straggled down from the passes.

Some of the Tibetans were accommodated in India in the low, flat, hot plain, where they languished. Far better were the communities established high in the mountains, around Katmandu in Nepal, in Darjeeling, in Sikkim. Here, in a climate most people would find harsh, the Tibetans thrive because it is more nearly like home—and that makes all the difference. They are peaceable, cheerful, patient, and fecund. Children abound, and the school is the most impressive, as well as the most important, structure. Various groups, such as the United States Committee for Refugees, a special American committee for Tibetan refugees, the International Council of Voluntary Agencies, and the World Council of Churches through the National Christian Council of India, are making efforts to resettle these folk. Unlike some refugees, who have succumbed to the shock of homelessness and helplessness or fallen into bitter and negative resentment, the Tibetans are surprisingly resilient, able to remake their lives with a minimum of outside help. Hence there is real meaning in the name of the center in Darjeeling: the Tibetan Refugee Self Help Centre.

This Centre, located on the hilly outskirts of the far northern city of Darjeeling, high up under the peaks of the Himalaya Mountains, is typical of the projects. During a visit on a rainy, cold, foggy day in the fall of 1965 I observed the vigorous promotion of work, on the one hand for completion of the camp and on the other for development of industrial and craft activities by which the refugees sought to help themselves and make new lives.¹⁷ In the midst of the rain and gloom the round Tibetan faces were alive with interest as children and old people alike shared in the various projects for manufacture of charming Tibetan art and craft products. Not only the school but also the hospital and the concrete-floored barn complete with cow and calves were going concerns.

This camp was but one of many. There are about forty thousand Tibetans in India, twenty thousand in Nepal, four thousand in Sikkim, and a few hundred already scattered farther around the world—for example, in Switzerland. Wherever they have settled, they have taken with them at least one thing: devotion to Buddhism which goes far beyond the sometimes superficial forms seen elsewhere. They are truly religious refugees. Whether they have gone far or remained under the shadow

¹⁷ Personal visit conducted by Mrs. Gyalo Thandup, chairman of the Centre committee and sister-in-law of the Dalai Lama, Darjeeling, 1 Nov. 1965.

of Mount Everest with their homeland just on the other side, until recently they have looked for a return eventually. They still hope, but the hope is more remote.¹⁸ This much is clear: They do not permit the expectation or hope of return to interfere with their efforts to build a new life here and now. Several projects for agricultural rehabilitation have been tried successfully in India, despite the scarcity of suitable arable land.¹⁹ Most of them are located in the high mountain regions. The government of India has provided land for five such camps covering an area of 10,400 acres, sufficient for the support of 12,000 refugees. International agencies have supplied bulldozers to help clear the forest land. Each family receives five acres and a house, with one hundred houses gathered into a village unit. Small-scale industry affords supplementary income.

B. East Asia

1. *China*. If the history of south Asia is dominated by India, that of east Asia is overshadowed by China. The study of refugees in India brought out clearly the tremendous force of population. All the more did Chinese masses generate pressures. No one, probably the Chinese themselves not excepted, knows how many people live on the mainland of greater China—perhaps 700 million. But we can be sure that disruptions there affect greater numbers than anywhere else on earth. World War II, which began in Asia in 1937, caused the migration, chiefly a forced movement under military pressure, of about thirty million persons. Two immense waves fled before the advancing Japanese: (1) from central and southeast China toward the southwest and (2) from northeast China toward the northwest. Further disruptions occurred through the period of civil war which concluded with the victory of the Communists on the mainland and the subsequent transfer of Nationalist military and refugees to Taiwan. Our purpose is not to recount the story of these Chinese mass movements, if only because sufficient information is not available. The impact, however, of China, its hordes of people, and its own huge migrations both within and outside of the country, affect the history of the entire Far East. The Japanese capture of refugee-packed Shanghai in November 1937, the flight of the Nationalist government to Chungking and the scorched earth policy, and the fall of Hankow in October 1938 are landmarks in one of the greatest shifts of population in all history, in this case spread over several years. Another inescapable point of refer-

¹⁸ Conversation with Mrs. (Dr.) Fleming of Katmandu, 28 Oct. 1965, in Calcutta.

¹⁹ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Sept. 1965, p. 9, report by K. J. Peter.

ence is the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, 1 October 1949. One direct result was the movement in December of the main body of the Nationalist army of Chiang Kai-shek, along with the administrative personnel and large numbers of refugees, to Taiwan. China must be the permanent backdrop for any drama played on the Far Eastern stage.

A special aspect is the presence in China of several thousand European refugees, White Russians who fled from the Russian Revolution across Siberia and finally made their way to China, where most of them congregated in Shanghai, and European Jews, who had come in the 1930's. The latter were gradually resettled, especially after the creation of Israel. UNRRA cared for over eleven thousand European refugees until 1947. Then IRO assumed responsibility. Some were resettled, but still more came. By 1948 most were concentrated in Shanghai. But the Russians became a more urgent problem after the conquest of mainland China by the Communists. IRO had offices not only in Hong Kong but also on the mainland in Shanghai, Amoy, Canton, Foochow, Swatow, and Tientsin.²⁰ IRO helped several thousand Jews to migrate to Israel. As for the Russians, IRO sought to evacuate as many as possible before the Communist take-over because of the danger of forced repatriation. Only one nation responded quickly enough: the Philippines, which agreed to take six thousand Russians in temporary refuge if IRO would guarantee their support and remove them within four months. The story of how these politically precarious refugees were snatched out of China just in time and brought to even more precarious refuge on a remote island of the Philippine archipelago is extremely dramatic.²¹ Fifty-five hundred were transported to Tubabao Island, a very small islet off the coast of Samar, where they were crowded into an improvised camp. The camp was repeatedly damaged and once completely destroyed by the typhoons which lash the eastern coast of the Philippines. Everyone might have known that this stay would have to be longer than four months. It was finally four years before the inhabitants were resettled, with considerable difficulty, elsewhere in the world. One of the most spectacular successes was the reestablishment of some in agricultural communities in Brazil, an enterprise engineered by DICARWS of the World Council of Churches.

From 1947 to 1951 IRO helped 29,000 European refugees in China, of whom most were resettled. By the late 1950's about 12,000 Europeans had been taken out of China by combined international efforts involving

²⁰ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, p. 422; Vernant, pp. 771-74.

²¹ See especially Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, pp. 59 ff. Also Holborn, p. 423.

UNHCR and ICEM. But still 9,000 were left, most of them Old Ritualists living in poverty, unwanted by the Chinese government, aliens in a very strange land.²²

2. *Vietnam*. Either directly or indirectly China was behind the other movements in the Far East. Every country on the perimeter has been pressed hard for centuries by the population mass which was China. Let us consider the old kingdoms of Tonkin and Annam in the region which in the days of colonialism became French Indo-China. The very name hits at the heart of this region: *Indo-* for the Indian influence from the west, *China* in recognition of the age-old Oriental *Drang nach Süden*. Not only did the Chinese themselves expand into southeast Asia, but the native peoples exhibited a southern trend. For centuries the Annamese had been drifting southward from Tonkin and northern Annam (present North Vietnam) toward the Mekong Valley.²³ In other words, a long-standing process of migration preceded the sudden rush which followed partition of the former French colony in 1954. It might be said that the movement of 900,000 people from North to South Vietnam in 1954 merely changed the situation from chronic to acute, for the time being. The northern region around the Red River delta had always suffered from a shortage of land. Only slowly did the rich possibilities of the Mekong delta become clear.

Until 1946 Vietnam generally had been called Indo-China. After World War II the French were rather slow to pick up their responsibilities in their loosely gathered colony. While they were dragging their feet, a new political movement in the north was extremely active in promoting a reform plan on a Communist basis. This was the Vietminh, which has sometimes given its name to the country as well. The French were never able to catch up. Finally came the military disaster of Dien Bien Phu, which fell after a long siege on 7 May 1954. The Geneva international conference which "settled" the affairs of this distracted land provided for a truce separation of northern and southern sections along the seventeenth degree of north latitude. Part of the agreement was that civilians on either side could over a period of time move freely across the line in accordance with their desires. Almost at once a horde of refugees poured southward, altogether about 900,000 of them, mostly Roman Catholic by faith. They congregated in and around Saigon, where they became in-

²² See James A. Joyce, "Plight of China's Refugees," *Contemporary Review*, CXCIV (1959), 238-40.

²³ E. H. G. Dobby, *Southeast Asia*, pp. 308-9.

habitants of sprawling camps typical of refugee settlements. Most of them are still there, although they no longer fill the role of homeless refugees. There was some propaganda value in this spectacle of hundreds of thousands fleeing communism, but the effects were not all beneficial to one side. The Saigon government was uneasy about so many foreigners from the north, especially in view of the scarcity of open land. Undoubtedly Vietminh agents came along with the masses and continued to stir up trouble, even riots, in the camps. On the other hand, the Vietminh were not altogether sorry to see so many leave. Their departure was in accordance with natural population pressures southward, and it opened up the completion of a basic land reform as thousands of acres were abandoned by their former owners—a precious “landfall” for a government intent on redistribution of land to poverty-stricken peasants.²⁴

In terms of the total population the migration was almost overwhelming. One million refugees would be almost a tenth of the population of South Vietnam. Within a year, however, many had already been resettled on land available or improved for use. Aid by both France and the United States helped South Vietnam weather the storms of the early months. A Commissariat for Refugees was established to oversee the distribution of the refugees in more than three hundred villages. They were divided into categories depending on their ability to become self-supporting.²⁵

For most of the years since partition the care of the refugees has devolved on government efforts supported by United States aid. The Roman Catholic church has been understandably more active through its National Catholic Welfare Conference and other agencies. But recently the Protestant churches, encouraged by the organization of the East Asia Christian Conference, began modest relief operations in order that the “Christian presence” might be made manifest in this area of need. From beginnings in 1954 the East Asia Christian Conference was officially established in 1959 in relation to the International Missionary Council and the World Council of Churches. The small but vigorous Evangelical Church of Vietnam and the Mennonite Central Committee have been carrying on relief work for several years. Most of their efforts have been in behalf of mountain people and others not being reached by government projects. Obviously the always varying military operations interfered with the effectiveness of these efforts. In 1965 increased participation in refugee relief and other work came from international sources, such

²⁴ Bernard B. Fall, “Indochina Since Geneva,” *Pacific Affairs*, XXVIII (1955), 5.

²⁵ Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, pp. 9–10, quoting from UN report, *Economic Survey for Asia and the Far East*, 1957, pp. 169–70.

as Church World Service. Nearly 30,000 persons are included in the various forms of care provided by the churches. In 1965 there were still 600,000 refugees needing help, and estimates said there would be a million soon in view of the increased dislocations of military activities.²⁶ Nothing that has happened since would suggest an early end of refugee movement.

The burgeoning of the refugee problem toward the end of the 1960's is indicated by the establishment of a special cooperative religious agency, Vietnam Christian Service, which unifies the work of CWS, LWF/WS, and the MCC, under direction of the latter agency. In 1967 the persons served by this and other agencies totaled over 10 percent of the entire population of South Vietnam. This figure is pure guesswork, since the country is in such turmoil that any attempt to make a distinction between displaced refugees and ordinary citizens whose lives have been disrupted is almost impossible. Some of the refugees are the victims of military action by the enemy, but many represent a new kind of refugee: the citizen relocated by his own side for military or security reasons. A hoped-for cessation of hostilities, on whatever basis, is not likely to solve the refugee problem. The Tet offensive early in 1968 had two effects: (1) another increase in movement of refugees, and (2) a more active response on the part of the government of South Vietnam to the urgency of the refugee problem.

3. *Hong Kong*. Pastor Ludwig Stumpf personifies in his own life and career the indissoluble link between China and Hong Kong. Especially he personifies the refugee problem in which they both share, although from opposite points of view. When on 13 January 1952 he and his wife, along with a group of other refugees, stepped across the famous bridge separating Kwangtung from the New Territories, he moved from the one to the other point of view. He himself, then a refugee, became a free man in a free land once more. In accordance with his character he immediately undertook organization of efforts in Hong Kong to help the hundreds of thousands who followed him across that bridge or came by more devious routes.²⁷

Stumpf had gone to China years before on business and there entered the Lutheran ministry to serve a small congregation in Shanghai. In that office he had been busy helping Jewish refugees who found refuge in China from the persecutions of Hitler. But when the Communists took

²⁶ Reports in DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Aug. 1965, pp. 10-11, and Nov. 1965, pp. 3-4.

²⁷ His story is told by Chandler, pp. 165 ff. Chandler was there to meet him personally as he entered British territory.

over, his work was made more and more difficult until in 1952 he was forced to leave. From then on he headed the work of both the Lutheran World Federation and the World Council of Churches in Hong Kong until the operations were divided a few years ago.

In 1931 the population of the crown colony of Hong Kong was 804,000. In ten years it doubled to 1,640,000, the increase coming chiefly from the disasters which attended the outbreak of World War II in 1937 in China. The next ten years saw a 30 percent further increase to 2,138,000.²⁸ By 1961 there were almost three million people crowded into the tiny colony. Still to come were the masses who literally forced their way across the frontier in 1962. Even considering the factors for natural increase in population among the fertile Chinese, these figures give impressive evidence of the impact of refugees in the isolated British possession. After the Communist victory on the mainland the border of Hong Kong was open during the early 1950's. During these years thousands poured in openly because the Chinese government did not see fit to prevent the movement. They came to Hong Kong and, except for Rennie's Mill camp, merged with the permanent poor population and ceased to be, officially and legally, refugees. If you are poor and starving in a tar-paper or tin-can hut, does it make much difference how you got there? The infamous shantytowns marred one of the most beautiful spots on earth. The port of Hong Kong, blessed with magnificent natural scenery, became a festering sore. Shanties crowded tier on tier on the open hillsides; junks and shacks were jumbled together on tidal flats; thousands wandered the streets and slept wherever they could find a sheltering overhang. Refugees kept coming, swelling the number of unemployed, whose only hope of survival was begging in competition with the regular beggars. Misery approached, if it did not quite reach, that of poor Calcutta.

Toward the end of the 1950's the flow declined, partly because of reduction of pressure from China and partly owing to immigration restrictions raised by the British out of sheer necessity. But then, in early 1962, the pressures rose again, exacerbated by famine conditions in China. Again the frontier witnessed an inrush almost unparalleled in desperation. One eyewitness wrote as follows: "They swarm over, or break down, the eight-foot barbed wire fence in the greatest mass crossing of the frontier since the Japanese invasion in 1941."²⁹ The writer went on to describe the pathetic frustrations that faced many migrants.

²⁸ Edvard Hambro, "Chinese Refugees in Hong Kong," *Phylon*, XVIII (1957), 70. Summary of UN Hong Kong Refugees Survey Mission, 1954. See also ILO, *International Migration*, pp. 126 f.

²⁹ Correspondent to *The Economist*, 19 May 1962, p. 677.

No sooner were they thus suddenly across the border into the New Territories than they were taken into custody by friendly, yet firm, police, fed a hot meal, and loaded on trucks to be taken back to Red China. The colony had at last been forced to close the gates in order to avoid chaos. In sixteen days 25,000 refugees had poured in. In May some five thousand illegal entries were being caught and deported daily.³⁰ The Hong Kong Christian Welfare and Relief Council issued another emergency appeal for help—not only immediate relief, which would not solve anything, but (1) permission for emergency immigration into other countries, especially Australia, Canada, Taiwan, and the United States; (2) acceptance of refugees in Hong Kong pending their emigration; and (3) cooperation of China in providing food relief.

It began to look as if once again the irresistible was crashing against the immovable. James B. Atkinson, addressing a World Consultation on Inter-Church Aid in July, listed four "brutal facts" in the situation: (1) The population of Hong Kong has now come to three million; (2) the birth-date ratio is five to two, resulting in a net increase of two thousand each week; (3) the Christian community of Hong Kong is very small and is getting smaller in proportion; and (4) the pressure of famine on the mainland is very heavy.³¹ The press at the same time reported that, while fifty thousand had recently been deported back to China, twenty thousand had lost themselves in Hong Kong and probably would never be apprehended. In fact the government never did seek very diligently to catch those who eventually got through.

It was like the days of the earlier exodus, in which junks and small boats daily (or rather nightly) slipped around the sea borders from China and from Macao to deliver their desperate human cargoes. Macao, the old but tiny Portuguese colony and port a few miles from Hong Kong, had been from the beginning a crowded point of concentration for refugees, who by this route hoped to surmount the double barrier, the one between Macao and China, the other between Macao and Hong Kong. If the proper palms were lubricated this route might prove easier than the one direct into the New Territories. Macao was never more than a temporary stopover on the way to Hong Kong. The harbor police had their hands full trying to intercept boats carrying illegal Chinese migrants before they could deposit them in some crowded slum where they quickly lost their identity as refugees.³² The Portuguese authorities were even

³⁰ Ecumenical Press Service, 1 June 1962.

³¹ *Ibid.*, 6 July 1962.

³² See, for example, the item in USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10, regarding the "double refugees"—Chinese from Indonesia.

less able than the British to impose any disciplined regulation of the traffic. A regular business developed in smuggling illegal Chinese.

Gradually, during the fifties, and then again after the great rush of 1962, the governments tightened the regulations, not out of brutal unconcern but out of responsibility for public order and welfare. The British had established, in principle, a process for entry and registration; it was widely circumvented. Now borders began to be more stringently guarded. The water traffic was more thoroughly controlled. Smuggling operations were suppressed. Refugees caught crossing the border were regularly deported back to China, except for special cases that clearly called for extraordinary attention. The attitude of China, which was in many ways very puzzling and irregular, stiffened. Rewards were announced for information on planned escapes. Families of refugees were held collectively responsible for individual members who might be tempted to get out. Fishing fleets, which had carried on a lucrative sideline of transporting refugees, were forced to carry armed guards and were chained together for the return trip.³³ All these restrictions did not mean that the traffic was ending. On the contrary, reports came in toward the end of 1964 that movement across the border was increasing, owing to flooding in Kwangtung. In May only one hundred per month were entering as contrasted to thirteen hundred in 1963 and twelve thousand in 1962. But the number per month was rising again in the later months of 1964.³⁴

The varying attitudes and standards for control of the traffic raise some interesting questions regarding the role of (1) the government of the crown colony, (2) the government of Communist China, (3) the government of Nationalist China, and (4) international organizations, especially the United Nations. The position of the British authority has been clear from the beginning, at least superficially. There is no refugee problem in Hong Kong, only the problem of the large number of poor unemployed Chinese. The approach of the government has been to the urban poor taken together. They were thrown together in the pathetic shack towns. What difference does it make where they came from or when? Presumably one born in Hong Kong might hope for better consideration than a recently arrived alien. But otherwise the situation was identical, the need was the same, and programs for amelioration and improvement applied to all equally. There were political as well as practical reasons for this view. The last thing the British of Hong Kong

³³ Ecumenical Press Service, 10 May 1963.

³⁴ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Nov. 1964, p. 13.

wanted was the public spectacle of thousands of refugees from neighboring Communist China, powerful enough to snuff out the entire colony overnight, as well as the best trader. Hong Kong survives at the sufferance of China and thrives on her trade. Without both of these Hong Kong dies. It is better, therefore, to deal with a problem of the local poor than with one of Chinese refugees. Thus the policy becomes clearer if understood as directed toward preservation of the lifeline of political toleration and trade. Within these necessary limits imposed by the particular *Sitz im Leben* the traditional humanitarian instincts of the British people have found expression, principally in public housing.³⁵ In the six years between 1954 and 1960, 103 resettlement blocks had been erected.³⁶ These provided adequate, though crowded, shelter for a quarter of a million people with low incomes. Others continued to be built into the 1960's. In an interview with a staff member of the Hong Kong Social Welfare Department in the fall of 1965 I saw plans for a most ambitious program of further public housing. Thus the government hopes to clear out the remnants of the shantytowns, some few of which still exist, and to prevent the reappearance of the worst forms of street dwelling and begging. Although most of the housing is provided by the local government, a few developments have come from contributions by private voluntary groups. Such are the Methodist projects, Wesley and Asbury Villages by the American Methodist church and Epworth Village by the British Methodists. In this way over three hundred families are accommodated. In general, however, housing has been a public responsibility. Voluntary agencies have made more useful contributions in special projects, such as the Chuk Yuen Christian Centre under the auspices of the Church of Christ in China, with its kindergarten, day school, chapel, and recreation facilities, and the Wong Tai Sin Community Centre. The most successful and important participation of the churches has been in the organization and support of the famous rooftop schools which adorn most of the housing blocks. In an interesting example of cooperation of church and state the churches and certain other voluntary groups have provided the school system for the housing units, each located in penthouse scenery with plenty of air and sunshine.

Another crucial effort of the voluntary groups has been in the direction of education for trades and careers. That this work was important is demonstrated by figures in the Hambro report: Very few refugees were

³⁵ The emphasis on providing housing as a prime responsibility of the government was reiterated by Mr. W. I. M. Bain, of the Hong Kong Social Welfare Department, in an interview in Hong Kong, 11 Nov. 1965.

³⁶ UNHCR, *Reference Service*, 1960, quoting from article in *Manchester Guardian Weekly*, 1 Sept. 1960. Cf. also Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, *Inasmuch*, no. 23, 1962.

farmers; 3.8 percent had been manual workers, while 47.7 percent had been professional, governmental, or white collar. Only 17 percent have been able to continue their former work; 23 percent were in 1954 unemployed.³⁷ The Practical Training Centre, a trade school located in the Community Centre of Wong Tai Sin, was given by the United States during World Refugee Year, and in 1965 four trades were being taught there.³⁸ Selected graduates of the primary schools are invited to attend a trade school, or in some cases a regular college, in Hong Kong. In 1964 about five hundred boys and girls who had grown up in the public housing and were in financial need were being helped by the College Student Work Project, which gave them a chance to work their way through.³⁹ The Lutheran World Federation has built a new vocational training center with capacity for six or seven hundred young men and women.⁴⁰

The policy of Communist China has not been clear to outside observers. But that is not unusual with respect to this peculiar nation and her new rulers. Why have the authorities frequently appeared to be lax and unconcerned about the exodus of citizens to Hong Kong? It would be relatively easy for China to choke off all but a trickle. When it has suited her she has done just that. But in 1962, while thousands were openly and sometimes forcibly breaking through the barriers, the Chinese guards, far from obstructing the movement, permitted it and even provided unofficial guidance. Those shipped back *en masse* by the British were not shot on the spot as traitors, although no one knows what happened to them eventually. Many people, however, tried to get through two or even three times. The policy of the Communist government on the refugees appears to be as equivocal as the attitude to Hong Kong itself. Perhaps the flow into Hong Kong is an advantageous, although relatively small, relief of population pressure in times of famine. Perhaps it is a means of spreading intelligence agents, perhaps a device for embarrassing the British. Anyway, if you can get another country to pay for the care of your excess poor, what loss is that?

These considerations affect also the participation of Nationalist China. Many observers have complained that Taiwan has not borne its share of the burden of refugee care. After all, they point out, technically from the Nationalist point of view they are all Chinese—that is, Nationalist—

³⁷ Hambro, p. 77.

³⁸ The Hong Kong Christian Welfare and Relief Council, headed by Paul Webb, provides a bus tour of selected housing blocks and other projects, including the rooftop schools and the training center. I took such a tour on 9 Nov. 1965.

³⁹ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Mar. 1964, pp. 1-3.

⁴⁰ Ecumenical Press Service, 7 Sept. 1962; cf. 1 Feb. 1963.

citizens.⁴¹ On the other hand, if Taiwan should do too much overtly for the refugees, a critical tension would develop vis-à-vis the mainland government. Many refugees were transported to Taiwan during the 1950's. In various ways the Nationalist government has shared in support and relief of needy refugees in Hong Kong, especially at Rennie's Mill, where the "real" refugees could more easily be identified. All of this help is heavily overlaid with propaganda motives, almost to the point that one questions the basic reason for the entire Nationalist relief program, at least as it bears on refugees in Hong Kong still outside Taiwan. Yet Nationalist China insists that care of refugees from the mainland is a proper responsibility because they are "Chinese citizens."

This last factor has affected directly and unfavorably the participation of the UNHCR in refugee work in Hong Kong. These refugees were not properly "homeless" or "stateless" under the mandate of UNHCR. Not until the mandate was reinterpreted recently to enable UNHCR to offer his good offices in situations not technically within the original mandate has this international agent of the United Nations been effective in Hong Kong. Further to extend the complex net in which the poor people are helplessly caught, it seems that Great Britain, in providing help to the refugees in her crown colony, is assisting citizens of a country she does not recognize (Great Britain has recognized Communist China as the valid government). In addition, although the Nationalists claim rights over the Hong Kong refugees, they insist that *they themselves*—army, administration, evacuees of 1949—are the *real* refugees, while the dwellers in Hong Kong are fence sitters, waiting to see which way history will go. Elfan Rees has explained the consequences of the legal technicalities as follows:

Inclusion of the Chinese within this definition [Article 6 (B) of the UNHCR mandate] has been prevented by the existence of two governments, each claiming to be the government of all of China and each recognized as such by different states. For those states recognizing the Nationalist government, the Chinese in Hong Kong are not refugees under the above definition since they do not fear persecution by their government and are willing to accept its protection. For those states recognizing the Communist government, the Chinese in Hong Kong are refugees who properly belong within the High Commissioner's mandate. The United Kingdom, which controls the territory in which the Chinese are living, recognizes the Communist government—and cannot, therefore, accept the Nationalist government's right to protect the refugees.⁴²

⁴¹ See the views of Hambro, p. 72; and Hu Yueh, "Problem of the Hong Kong Refugees," *Asian Survey*, II (1962), 32-33.

⁴² Rees, p. 64.

The government of Hong Kong was definitely left in the middle of this debate, which waxed long in United Nations circles. Of one thing the government was certain, namely, that the burden of care for so many refugees ought not to be left on the shoulders of such a small community which by accident happened to be neighbor at the time of flight. In only three ways could the rest of the world help: (1) by facilitating the return of the refugees to China mainland, (2) by opening the door to immigration and resettlement from Hong Kong, and (3) by assuming the burden of integration in Hong Kong.⁴³ Hong Kong had itself not made clear the relation of its own vigorous efforts at settlement of refugees in the colony to its repeated insistence that resettlement elsewhere was the only fair solution.

This much is plain: If governments, with all their power and wealth, are stopped and frustrated by a legal definition of eligibility, such limitation affects the voluntary agencies of the churches not at all. The only definition valid for them is need, immediate human need. Thus money has poured into Hong Kong from various church agencies in an effort to provide help at the points of greatest need while the governments concerned clumsily deliberated on who was entitled to what.

4. *Taiwan*. Similar to Hong Kong only in that the refugees are Chinese is Taiwan. This island, formerly called Formosa during the Japanese occupation, 1895–1945, became the refuge of the Nationalist government of China after the debacle of 1949–50. This meant that the main body of the Nationalist army, all of the central administrative personnel, and a large number of individual refugees retreated from the mainland to escape the Communist power. In a broad sense they were all refugees, and they have consciously regarded themselves as such. Altogether about two million people were involved in the original migration. More, although smaller numbers, have come in since. Taiwan has very limited capacity to assimilate additions to the population, for the pressure of population is already acute.

These mainland Chinese were different from the natives, who are also mostly Chinese. The newcomers were either northern Chinese or others adjusted to northern language and attitudes—the Mandarin. On the other hand, the Formosans were more southerly in culture and spoke a different language. Thus the refugees from the Communist mainland constituted at first a distinct segment. The process of assimilation has blurred the differences. But the requirements of political propaganda in

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 67, quoting from *Hong Kong Annual Report*, 1956, pp. 15–16.

the interests of an eventual return for reconquest of the mainland have tended to perpetuate the differences.

Year after year a few thousand refugees find their way to Taiwan, either on their own or brought in from Hong Kong by the government. The number entering under governmental auspices is not very large in comparison with the hordes who fled to Hong Kong. The Hambro report of 1954 stated that 140,000 had resettled on Taiwan between 1949 and 1954.⁴⁴ Some help has been extended to the Chinese refugees still in Hong Kong, especially those in Rennie's Mill. But the question of citizenship bedevils relations between Taiwan and Hong Kong. Of the refugees in Hong Kong who are willing to emigrate, over half would settle in Taiwan if opportunity were offered.⁴⁵ Since the population of Taiwan is around twelve million, the reluctance of the Nationalist authorities to accept sizable numbers of outsiders is understandable. For the care of the fugitives the government has sponsored the Free China Relief Association, with large headquarters in Taipei. It is a sort of combined refugee relief and Nationalist propaganda organization. I was impressed during a visit to the headquarters and to a reception camp on the outskirts of the city by the variety of services carried on. The reception camp, which is also a vocational training center, is well located, architecturally acceptable, and attractively landscaped. It is much preferable to the plain and sometimes sordid reception centers so often encountered.⁴⁶ Verandahs look out on pleasant lawns. A modernistic concrete sculpture symbolizes both aspects of the work: two hands upheld in help and service, holding two cogwheels for vocational skills.

5. *Korea.* The last area in this survey of refugee movements in the Far East is Korea. The Republic of Korea came into being in 1948. In 1950 the Korean War broke out, in which the Communists from the north invaded the south and were driven back while South Korea, aided by United Nations forces (principally American), invaded the north, until Chinese forces forced a retreat to the 38th parallel, which thereafter became the boundary.

In the three years before the outbreak of the war five million refugees had moved from North to South Korea.⁴⁷ Some were repatriates from China and Japan after cessations of World War II hostilities. Others were

⁴⁴ Hambro, p. 72.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 76.

⁴⁶ Personal visit, 15 Nov. 1965.

⁴⁷ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Vol. V: *Twentieth Century Outside Europe*, p. 418. See also ILO, *International Migration*, pp. 124 f.

returning from the forced-labor battalions imposed by the Japanese. Most of them were fugitives from terror in the North Korean section. Thousands of orphans—one of the characteristic aspects of the Korean pictures—were already homeless and uncared for. The Korean War was especially disruptive because of the violent changes of fortune. At one time the North Koreans almost pushed the South Koreans into the sea. Pusan was for a while the only city of size in South Korean control. Afterward the Allies pushed far into North Korea, only to be turned back by the late entry of Chinese forces. The result was panic flight by hordes from north to south. Seoul was overwhelmed with fearful refugees. Some were South Koreans whose homes had been destroyed. Others were from the North. All were desperate.

Population figures tell a story. In 1945 there were ten and a half million people in the north and sixteen and a half million in the south. By 1960 the figures were eight and a quarter million as against twenty-five million. The tremendous increase in South Korea was largely due to the settlement of millions of refugees. During the war, in the middle of winter, people fled southward in all kinds of vehicles—cars, trucks, wagons, oxcarts, railroad flatcars—and on foot. During the deep Communist advance a great flood moved from Seoul toward Pusan.⁴⁸ At the end of the war refugees were spread all over South Korea, but concentrated in urban centers, especially Seoul. Suwon, although ruined by military action, was giving sanctuary to eight thousand refugees.⁴⁹ The people were living in earth dugouts in cold and wet. Almost no one had any work but survived on a daily ration of rice.

Gradually order appeared. The government built some more substantial refugee camps, such as those at Anyang Ni and Pusan. They began as temporary quarters in army tents. Little by little also efforts were made to provide some form of rehabilitation and vocational training. Most refugees had to make a radical adjustment, for, like those of Hong Kong, they had been formerly largely of the upper and middle classes, and more of them were urban than rural. Few had any chance of taking up their previous careers. The work of the voluntary societies of the churches was especially remarkable in Korea, partly because of the notable advance Christianity had made in that peninsula. Church World Service and other agencies poured in quantities of supplies and provided those per-

⁴⁸ John W. Riley, Jr., *et al.*, "Flight from Communism: A Report on Korean Refugees," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XV (1951), 274.

⁴⁹ J. B. Atkinson, "Korean Church World Service," *Ecumenical Review*, VI (1954), 465.

sonal services for which the church agencies were best suited.⁵⁰ It was reported in 1960 that Korean Church World Service was giving over 100,000 hot meals per day at 132 feeding stations. In Korea, however, every agency pitched in. The government, the South Korean army, the Civil Assistance Command (the civilian branch of the United Nations authority in Korea), and especially the United Nations Korean Reconstruction Agency have all participated. UNKRA, established in 1950, has spent huge amounts of money in the work, much of it on long-range reconstruction projects. Besides all these were the Korean churches, missionary groups in Korea, and twenty-seven other voluntary agencies, most of them working together. The Protestant coordinating body is Korean Church World Service, relief agent of the Korean National Council of Churches. More than any body of refugees in the world the Koreans are afflicted with countless hard-core cases—cripples from the war, helpless aged, unguided adolescents, hordes of orphans. For a while gangs of youth and even children made life unsafe in the large cities. Here if anywhere the churches, with their concern for people, could help. At last report (1969) the refugee problem as such was solved, with rehabilitation and relocation of virtually all displaced persons.⁵¹

Thus we come to the conclusion of this brief survey of postwar refugee movements around the world, from Europe eastward to the Far East. Two other special areas are yet to be covered: (1) resettlement from lands of first refuge around the world and (2) movements which are recent and not completed at the time of publication.

⁵⁰ Ecumenical Press Service, 14 Oct. 1960.

⁵¹ USCR *World Refugee Report*, 1969, p. 6.

Chapter 35

Dispersion Around the World

Most of the study of refugees in the twentieth century has concentrated on original movements from one country of persecution to a contiguous land of refuge. In many cases the refugees so moved have been able to settle there permanently or presently to return home. Besides these two classic dispositions of refugees—local settlement and repatriation—there is another possibility: resettlement elsewhere. This last aspect opens up the entire world as a field for movement. The raw materials for these three processes appear in the accompanying chart.

Refugees in Africa, Asia, and Europe 1945-56*

AFRICA

Morocco	70,000	from Algeria
Tunisia	90,000	from Algeria
Ghana	5,000-10,000	from the Ivory Coast
<hr/>		
Total	ca. 170,000	

* Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, p. 8. This chart was prepared with the aid of Gunther Beijer of the Research Group for European Migration Problems, The Hague.

ASIA

Turkey	350,000	from Bulgaria
Egypt (Gaza Strip)	230,000	Arabs from Palestine
Indonesia	7,500	
Jordan	510,000	Arabs from Palestine
Lebanon	100,000	Arabs from Palestine
Syria	90,000	Arabs from Palestine
West and East Pakistan	6,500,000	from India
India	8,500,000	from Pakistan
	15,000	from Tibet
Ceylon	20,000	Tamils from North Ceylon
Vietnam	900,000	Europeans
Hong Kong	10,000	Chinese
	700,000	from Chinese mainland
Taiwan	600,000	from Viet-Minh
South Korea	3,000,000	inc. displaced persons
<hr/>		
Total	ca. 21,532,500	

EUROPE †

Austria	600,000	<i>Volksdeutsche</i> inc. those naturalized
	30,000	foreign refugees
Belgium	75,000	
Finland	400,000	
France	300,000	
West Germany	13,400,000	inc. expellees and East German refugees
East Germany	3,000,000	
Greece	30,000	
Italy	60,000	
Netherlands	15,000	
Scandinavia (Denmark, Norway, and Sweden)	55,000	
Switzerland	30,000	
<hr/>		
Total	ca. 17,995,000	

The details of the story, spread over so many decades, separated into myriad specific movements, promoted by so many different agencies, and involving so many different kinds of refugees, cannot be reported ex-

† These figures do not include the 200,000 Hungarian refugees in 1956, of whom 178,000 have been resettled.

haustively in this history, which is concerned most directly with religious refugees. Most of the people moved for political or economic reasons. The minority whose motivation was principally religious are dealt with in Chapter 36. Therefore, we endeavor here only to outline the main features of the complex process of resettlement. Since much of this process as related to Europe has already been covered, the emphasis will be on other continents.

A. Agencies for Resettlement

Three main types of agencies have been active in finding homes for refugees who could not or would not return to their original homes or settle in the immediate land of refuge: (1) international organizations, (2) United States government and other national agencies, (3) voluntary groups. The last are discussed in Chapter 37. The work of the international bodies had to do directly with movements in Europe, the Near East, and the Far East. At another level all of them have been engaged, to a greater or lesser extent, in the wider problem of resettlement. One of the most active bodies was the International Refugee Organization.¹ During its four and a half years well over a million people were resettled through planned migration. The strong basis of authority enjoyed by IRO made possible direct negotiations with governments and other agencies which some other organizations could not attempt. All stages of various projects were undertaken—regulation of emigration from countries of first refuge, opening of opportunities for resettlement, negotiations with receiving nations on immigration and settlement, and provision of transportation. No less than forty-eight countries figure in the published statistics of IRO as countries of reception and fifty-two countries or political areas as places of origin. All this, taken together, amounts to the largest as well as the most complex planned migration of refugees in history.

The responsibility of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees has been very important.² Established in 1951 about the time of the demise of IRO, this office has been especially concerned with the legal protection of refugees who could be defined as stateless or at least homeless. Inevitably the work has spread into other areas, although it has

¹ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, ch. xx, pp. 365–442, gives details. Cf. Malcolm M. Proudfoot, *European Refugees: 1939–52*, pp. 422 ff., and charts on pp. 425, 427.

² A convenient summary of the various agencies appears in the Annual Survey Issue of the *World Refugee Report*, published by the United States Committee for Refugees. The report for 1964–65 is the basis for this section, unless otherwise noted.

not overlapped the responsibility of other agencies of the United Nations. The classic area has been Europe, in which UNHCR was in 1964 still working with some thirty thousand persons who were yet to be resettled. As a result of International Refugee Year the camps were at long last almost cleared, except for those maintained for care of the continuing flow of new refugees. During UNHCR's years of operation 33,000 persons have been resettled from camps and 48,000 from the outside.

UNRWA and UNKRA have already entered the story in their proper areas, the Near East and Korea respectively. Neither has figured notably in the broader field of resettlement overseas, although in special cases this has been accomplished. By the nature of their assignments they are chiefly concerned with local settlement in countries of first refuge. In the Near East, where opportunities might develop for broader resettlement, the work has been severely hampered by political factors which oppose any plans for permanent resettlement.

On the other hand, the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration (ICEM), although limited geographically as indicated in its title, has been active in the area of worldwide resettlement. About 1,300,000 Europeans have benefited from its services and have been resettled overseas. Twenty-nine governments, including that of the United States, participate in its work. For political reasons it was organized outside the circle of the United Nations and hence is free to engage in activities which are very difficult if not impossible for a unit of the United Nations. Of the total number of migrants, it should be specified, only a little over a half-million have been refugees. The continuing achievement of ICEM is indicated by the record for 1964: Of about 70,000 people resettled overseas 37,000 were refugees. Altogether 28,000 went to Australia, 18,000 to Israel, 6,000 to the United States, 5,000 each to Canada and Latin America, 4,000 to South Africa, and smaller numbers elsewhere.³ A comparison of the record of IRO with that of ICEM between 1952 and 1957 is interesting. Whereas the countries of largest refugee immigration under IRO were the United States, Australia, and Canada, in that order, the largest under ICEM were the same, but in the order United States, Canada, and Australia. In the same number of years ICEM resettled about one-fourth as many as did IRO. In the case of the Latin-American countries Brazil forged ahead with almost four times as many as her nearest competitor, Argentina. Argentina had been first under IRO. Venezuela came third in both periods.⁴ ICEM concurrently encourages

³ *Migration Today*, Mar. 1965, p. 30.

⁴ ICEM figures were taken from ILO, *International Migration, 1945-1957*, Table 22, p. 52.

the emigration of longtime refugees as opportunities open, quick resettlement of new refugees before they become "stuck," and the reunion of families with men—breadwinners—who had emigrated earlier. The first group have to be dealt with as individuals because of the difficulty of overcoming long-term refugee status. These are all hard-core cases passed over in earlier years. Gradually, one by one, a few hundred perhaps in a year, these people are being taken out of the camps and resettled overseas.

The United States, partly because of its long-standing interest in cast-offs and victims of persecution and partly because of its worldwide commitments, has been very active in promoting resettlement of refugees, but not necessarily in the United States. The Department of Health, Education, and Welfare has been given responsibility for care of the Cuban refugees, but few of these will migrate elsewhere unless ultimately to return to Cuba. More directly concerned with resettlement is the Office of Refugee and Migration Affairs, a branch of the Department of State. This office has brought together operations carried on by the United States Escapee Program and the Far East Refugee Program, the former having operated in Europe and the Near East, the latter having been especially active in programs for aid and settlement of Chinese refugees in Hong Kong and Macao. This American body cooperates regularly with UNHCR and ICEM.

Another United States organization is the Agency for International Development (AID), which is concerned principally with distribution, in close concert with the voluntary agencies, of surplus food and other supplies. Much of this assistance goes to the support of refugees.

The voluntary agencies, whose work especially through the churches is discussed elsewhere, are of five different types. First are the general relief organizations, such as the Red Cross, the International Rescue Committee, and the Cooperative for American Relief Everywhere (CARE). IRC has been most active in the area of resettlement and recently has emphasized work with Cuban refugees in the United States. Second are the Roman Catholic agencies, especially Caritas in Europe and the National Catholic Welfare Conference in the United States. Third are the organizations of the Protestant churches, quite varied because of denominational and national divisions but brought together through worldwide bodies such as the World Council of Churches and Church World Service (American). Some of these are discussed later. Fourth are agencies concerned principally with relief of needy Jews and care of Jewish refugees. The main ones are the American Council for Judaism Philanthropic Fund, the American Joint Distribution Committee (AJDC), and the United HIAS

Service. The last group includes special-purpose organizations such as the American Korean Foundation, American Fund for Czechoslovak Refugees, Christian Children's Fund, Polish-American Immigration and Relief Committee, Spanish Refugee Aid, United Lithuanian Relief Fund of America, and the Tolstoy Foundation. This is not an exhaustive list, and it is limited, in national organizations, to groups in the United States actively cooperating with the United States Committee for Refugees. Other countries have developed their own relief organizations, such as the British Council for Aid to Refugees, which has been at work since 1950; the Association pour l'Établissement des Réfugiés Étrangers and the Comité Inter-Mouvements auprès des Évacués (CIMADE), both French agencies, the one illustrative of general relief work with refugees, the other the relief branch of the French Reformed church; Evangelische Hilfswerk and Innere Mission, both German church agencies, working in addition to the direct activity by the government; the Centre d'Initiation pour Réfugiés et Étrangers, Belgian; Secours Catholique and Comité Juif d'Action Sociale et de Reconstruction, French Catholic and Jewish groups. This is merely a sampling.⁵ Every country which claims a part in the free world has organizations, public and private, large or small in accordance with the nation's potential, for service to refugees. Communist nations do not neglect the problem of refugees, but all services are under governmental control. In both Communist and non-Communist countries work for refugees is frequently combined with other purposes, such as general relief, migration and immigration, and occasionally public relations or propaganda.

In addition to the activity directly related to tension spots like Europe and Hong Kong all the agencies—international, national, and private—got together, more or less, for World Refugee Year in 1959–60.⁶ Besides the European projects UNHCR planned overseas resettlement of about thirteen thousand hard-core refugees left over in Europe. This was carried out in full cooperation with various countries, the voluntary agencies, ICEM, and national governmental agencies. Also scheduled for resettlement were ten thousand European refugees from China via Hong Kong. In all these programs the task of UNHCR was mainly that of coordination

⁵ A full list is given in Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, pp. 250–53.

⁶ A rather large amount of promotional literature appeared at the beginning of the Year. One of the best summaries of the problem and of responses to the appeal is *Information Service* (NCC), XXXVIII, 17 Oct. 1959, no. 17. The entire issue is devoted to the Year, together with a report on CWS. UNHCR published a number of pamphlets, among them, in addition to those already listed on Europe, "International Protection of Refugees" and "The World Refugee Year."

and consultation with governments. UNRWA was a participant too in World Refugee Year, but not in the area of resettlement. Each country adjusted its own plans to the possibilities of the Year, and all the voluntary agencies cooperated. They were especially helpful in arranging the technically difficult procedures for processing refugees for overseas settlement.

B. Sowing of the Seed

The complexity of the story of overseas resettlement is demonstrated by the charts provided in Louise Holborn's masterly history of the IRO.⁷ They cover only the years 1947 through 1951 and show resettlement by country of destination, area of departure, and country of citizenship. One is tempted, looking at the charts on the following pages (given here in simplified summary form which omits small figures), to conclude that refugees were actually moving from all countries to all countries in a complicated web of intertwined transportation. More careful study reveals certain major trends, each one meaningful in terms of specific pressures and opportunities. This history is concerned only with these major movements as the continuing backdrop for the contemporary involvement of Christians.

1. *North America.* Underlying the coming of refugees to the United States is the long history of immigration. This new nation, more than any other except Israel, a nation of immigrants, has been obsessed for many decades with the problem of the foreign newcomer. A long series of immigration laws has been set up in an effort to direct and control movements of people into the country—necessary if only because the United States has had a powerful attraction for the dissatisfied and the dispossessed of the world. Next best to living happily at home would be for millions migrating to America. Granted the increasing pressure of population which results from uncontrolled fertility, the forces of expulsion and attraction conspired to drive hordes of people to her shores. These forces have come into full play only in the twentieth century. Hence the basic provisions regulating immigration until 1966 are found in the two laws of 1917 and 1924 limiting the number of persons permitted to enter and establishing a quota system which, under a formula

⁷ Pp. 433-42.

AREA OF DEPARTURE

Country of Destination	Total	Austria	Belgium	Czecho-slovakia	Denmark	Philippines	Shanghai	France
Total	1,038,750	145,233	8,672	3,226	2,034	5,308	13,957	31,434
Argentina	32,712	8,772						4,687
Australia	182,159	18,588	1,173			1,669	1,239	3,526
Belgium	22,477							
Bolivia	2,485							1,169
Brazil	28,848	6,666						1,836
Canada	123,479	19,644	3,238					4,936
Chile	5,108	2,393						
France	38,455	14,199						
French Morocco	1,446							
Israel	132,109	21,865	1,658	2,398			5,112	5,671
Netherlands	4,355							
New Zealand	4,837							
Norway	1,105							
Paraguay	5,887							
Peru	2,340							
Sweden	4,330	1,408						
Turkey	2,358							
U.K.	86,346	11,561						
U.S.	328,851	31,462	1,061			2,740	4,837	3,094
Uruguay	1,461							
Venezuela	17,277	4,731						2,815

COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP

Country of Destination	Total	Albania	Austria	Bulgaria	Byelo-russia	Czecho-slavakia	Estonia	Germany	Hungary	Latvia	Lithuania
Total	1,038,750	1,104	5,129	3,068	2,517	34,450	27,096	21,481	62,871	81,215	55,165
Argentina	32,712								3,067		
Australia	182,159					9,884	5,958	1,826	13,320	19,601	10,136
Belgium	22,477										
Bolivia	2,485										
Brazil	28,848					1,499			3,146		
Canada	123,479					5,916	4,118		7,479	8,619	8,599
Chile	5,108										
France	38,455					1,068			3,655		
French Morocco	1,446										
Israel	132,109		1,200			1,960		4,535	7,191		1,178
Netherlands	4,355										
New Zealand	4,837										
Norway	1,105										
Paraguay	5,887										
Peru	2,340										
Sweden	4,330						1,089				
Turkey	2,358										
U.K.	86,346					1,956	3,418		3,013	8,447	3,407
U.S.	328,851		1,844		1,135	8,057	10,992	13,096	16,718	38,637	27,825
Uruguay	1,461										
Venezuela	17,277								1,999		

These two charts are taken from Louise Holborn, *The International Refugee Organization*, and are reprinted with her permission.

AREA OF DEPARTURE (Continued)

Germany

British Zone	French Zone	U.S. Zone	Not Reported	Greece	Italy	E. Africa	India	Lebanon	Netherlands	Sweden	Switzerland
224,261	38,087	450,163	7,025	3,137	70,535	14,044	3,082	5,857	1,691	1,539	3,919
58,657	9,789	2,242			13,394						
3,942		67,803			14,079	1,234					1,347
		18,081									
7,900	2,934	5,831			1,843						
32,297	3,284	47,850			7,839					1,035	
8,115	6,330	8,941									
6,585		63,447	7,025		14,277						
1,317		4,048		1,211							
2,560		1,033									
1,229		1,383			2,047						
		988									
36,175	2,770	16,506				10,829	3,078	4,819			
62,639	10,542	200,320			10,648						
		6,995									

COUNTRY OF CITIZENSHIP (Continued)

Poland	Rumania	Spain	Ukrainian	USSR	Venezia Giulian	Yugoslavia	Nansen status	Stateless	Volksdeutsche	Undetermined	Not Reported	Jewish Refugees Included†
357,635	23,010	9,988	113,677	41,325	3,167	82,090	20,196	6,127	986	12,799	71,075	231,548
6,563		2,951	2,283	2,071		19,105	1,461					
60,308	2,190		19,607	4,944		23,350	2,383	1,513			3,697	8,172
10,378			5,650	1,826								
7,770	1,365		4,609	1,427		2,587	1,549					
46,961	2,536		14,877	8,158		9,828					1,279	16,021
11,882	1,558		3,342			2,085	1,013				9,882	2,220
54,904	7,260			1,689						3,444	47,558	130,408
2,969												
1,433				2,665		1,492						1,685
35,780			15,001			9,817					1,039	
110,566	4,249		45,044	14,506	1,971	17,213	8,357	1,975		2,679	1,027	
										3,163	2,001	64,930
2,814		2,623	1,887			1,997						

†Resettled under the auspices of the IRO office in Denmark.

of selection according to race and nationality, sought to preserve the existing balance of ethnic groups. The total of quotas, 154,177 each year, if not used up, could not be carried over in accumulative fashion.

When the postwar problem of refugees became acute, the first emergency measure taken in the United States to permit entry of refugees was the directive of December 1945 under which President Truman authorized the application of unused quotas designated to eastern and central Europe to the refugees gathered in United States occupation zones.⁸ This was followed in 1948 by the Displaced Persons Act. It restricted the admission of refugees at two crucial points: (1) refugees could be received only by "mortgaging" the future quotas of the countries of original citizenship; and (2) individual sponsorships were required for each refugee. Under the Truman directive corporate sponsorships by voluntary agencies had made possible the relatively simple admission of refugees under a sort of blanket responsibility. Now an affidavit was necessary in each individual case to the effect that the refugee would have work and not become a public charge. Then came the Refugee Relief Act of 1953, which fitted the period after the demise of IRO and the establishment of UNHCR. This act allowed the immigration of about 186,000 fugitives from Communist-dominated countries of Europe and Asia, 4,000 orphans for American adoption, and 19,000 over-quota Italians, Greeks, and Dutch who had relatives in the United States. In addition to the individual affidavits data were required on the activities of the person to be admitted for two years prior to his application. The latter were intended to provide security officers with information on which to base judgments on the applicant's loyalty. Later laws adapted to new situations.

Most of these statutes included detailed regulations which vastly increased the complexity and difficulty of processing refugees. Files became fat with affidavits, individual sponsorships, security data, and so forth. In this work the voluntary agencies exerted tremendous efforts to assemble cases ready for visa applications. Although many opportunities were lost because of expiration of the law before cases could be prepared, thousands of persons were led through the administrative maze to become residents and finally citizens of the United States. Figures of the IRO period show the following groups entered between 1947 and 1951: Germany, U.S. zone, 200,300; British zone, 62,600; French zone, 10,500; Austria, 31,500; Italy, 10,600; Shanghai, 4,800; France, 3,100; Philippines,

⁸ Holborn, p. 410. One of the most useful studies of immigration of refugees to the United States is Benson Y. Landis, *Protestant Experience with United States Immigration, 1910-1960*. He discusses the quota system on pp. 15 ff.

2,700; Belgium, 1,100.⁹ The statistical total came to 328,900. On the basis of citizenship the same total was divided as follows: Poland, 110,600; Ukraine, 45,000; Latvia, 38,700; Lithuania, 27,900; Yugoslavia, 17,200; Hungary, 16,700; U.S.S.R. 14,500; Germany, 13,100; Estonia, 11,000; Nansen status, 8,400; Czechoslovakia, 8,100; Romania, 4,200; stateless, 2,000; Venezia Giulia, 2,000; Austria, 1,800; Byelorussia, 1,100; Jews included in the geographical categories, 64,900.

The period of the IRO, which is roughly equal to the period of the Displaced Persons Act, was a high point of refugee immigration. Another high point came briefly in 1957 with the reception of Hungarian refugees.¹⁰ These people suddenly created a challenge and a demand which could not be ignored. Most of them who came to the United States in planes provided by the armed forces arrived under a "loophole" in the immigration laws which permitted "parole" beyond quota limitations. In this way 32,000 Hungarians came in.¹¹ For many years, until Congress regularized the process, the status of the parolees was uncertain. But the Hungarian exodus taught this much if it taught anything: Emergency situations require emergency measures—unless nations can be wise enough to prepare beforehand. During the period 1946 through 1957 about one-quarter of the total immigrants were refugees (634,000 out of 2,600,200).¹² Various groups of people continued to be admitted under the complicated provisions of later laws. One specific law of 1958 permitted entry of Dutch Indonesians who had to leave the new Indonesian nation when anti-Dutch pressure was increased. They were unique in that they fled from lands of colonial settlement "back home" to Holland, from which they were resettled in the United States and elsewhere.

A recent concept, written into Public Law 86-648, is that of the "fair share": "the number of stateless refugees, under the mandate of the United Nations' High Commissioner for Refugees, who are allowed to enter the United States as parolees, is determined by taking 25 percent of the total number of refugees admitted to other countries from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Greece, Italy, and Lebanon."¹³ In addition

⁹ Figures rounded off to nearest 100, none given less than 1,000. Data are from charts in Holborn, pp. 433 ff.

¹⁰ Detailed material on the earlier period is in Vernant, pp. 482-91. Excellent summaries, with emphasis on the work of CWS, are in the reports (1953-57) of that body, *Knock and It Shall Be Opened Unto You*, and Ann Ash and Gerhard Hennes, *Refugee Resettlement 1957-1959*.

¹¹ Landis, p. 28.

¹² Ash and Hennes, p. 1. A chart which shows immigration of refugees is given on p. 2.

¹³ CWS, *Annual Report*, 1964, p. 38.

to this are the regular quota immigrants, including some refugees, the Chinese parole program which allows entry of 5,000 Chinese from Hong Kong, and the Cuban refugees. Immigration services reported that over 146,000 have been admitted under all programs since the end of World War II.

Most recently the United States has become the unenthusiastic host for thousands of fugitives from Cuba. Driven from that island by a combination of political and economic forces, they have entered Florida in droves but have been quickly distributed to other states. This continuing movement is discussed later in the present chapter.

The record of the United States in reception of refugees has been mixed. The traditional willingness to receive the poor and homeless castoffs of other nations was qualified by strict immigration laws. Governmental policy since World War II has also been strongly affected by security considerations. As history moves toward the end of the twentieth century, the United States will be forced to give more active consideration to a fundamental problem of the modern world—overpopulation. It must face the inevitable results of what has been crassly but accurately called “uncontrolled copulation” by the world’s people. Some forms of population control will be absolutely necessary, and regulation of migration must be part of it. Thus the problem of the refugees, for the United States, is rapidly becoming part of the larger problem of population.

Canada, although in many ways in the same situation as the United States, has been more favorably disposed to immigration. The reason lies principally in the contrast between the large size of the dominion and her small population. Canada thus enjoys a far larger absorptive capacity for additional population than the United States, which is much more fully developed and occupied. Only the ability to exploit the vast economic resources and the rigors of climate limit this capacity. Consequently, especially since World War II, Canada has encouraged immigration, as Prime Minister Mackenzie King made quite clear in parliamentary debates during 1947.¹⁴ In supporting plans to “foster growth of the population of Canada by the encouragement of immigration” King reiterated the policy of the government to adjust immigration to absorptive capacity, to preserve “the character of our population,” to exercise freedom to select desirable immigrants, to offer open immigration to citizens of the commonwealth and the United States, and to develop facilities for re-

¹⁴ See full discussion in Jacques Vernant, *Refugee in the Post-War World*, pp. 544 ff.; and Holborn, pp. 396 ff.

ception of "carefully selected immigrants from among the displaced persons in Europe." ¹⁵

Under IRO Canada participated actively in the program for bringing together close relatives through nomination by people living in Canada and in the plan for admission of selected labor groups, such as miners and woodsmen. Canada was the first country to send a special mission to Germany in search of qualified refugees without regard for origin or religion. The government was, on the one hand, eager to encourage and facilitate immigration, but also, on the other hand, frankly intent on securing specific categories of persons whose abilities and skills matched Canada's needs. Thus much was made of specific labor groups. In general not much opposition was expressed to the coming of refugees, and labor organizations were involved from the start. A total of 123,500 refugees was admitted during the period of IRO, 1947-51—over one-third of the number admitted to the United States during the same period. The charts show the relationship of movements from areas of refuge and nationality to comparable movements to other countries. The United States accepted proportionately far more refugees of German nationality, and more from the Baltic nations.

In the period after IRO Canada continued to receive refugees, although still on a very selective basis. Those under auspices of ICEM went in largest numbers to the United States, then to Australia, and then Canada.¹⁶ Relatively few persons, however, have been resettled in Canada in recent years.

2. *South America.* At first glance the potential of Latin America as a land of resettlement of refugees considerably exceeds that of Canada, another undeveloped and underpopulated region. The total population of the continent is less than that of the United States, even though the latter is smaller in size than Brazil alone. Huge regions remain virtually unpopulated, and more regions, though occupied to some extent, are almost totally undeveloped. Some of these lands are, in the absence of extensive improvement, almost uninhabitable. Others, however, are open and waiting for pioneers. Typically the people are concentrated along the seashore and in a few large cities. Migration to South America until recently was relatively slow, although few legal restrictions existed.

¹⁵ Quoted in Vernant, p. 545, from *Debates of the House of Commons*, 1 May 1947, 2673-75.

¹⁶ John J. Stoessinger, *Refugee and the World Community*, p. 175, quoting the *New York Times*.

There was a steady flow from Europe to large nations like Brazil and Argentina.

After World War II many of the countries cooperated with plans for resettlement of European refugees. Under IRO about 100,000 were thus given permanent homes.¹⁷ During the same period about a million immigrants, including the refugees, came to the continent. One factor which favors acceptance of refugees is the deeply ingrained principle of the right of asylum. The Latin-American countries stand far in advance of the rest of the world in proclaiming and maintaining this right for fugitives from persecution. As early as 1889 Argentina, Bolivia, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay had, in the Treaty of Montevideo, laid down liberal principles for extradition and asylum. Most of the nations joined in the Convention on Political Asylum of 1933.

This does not mean, however, that refugees have always received a royal welcome. Other factors have worked against acceptance and assimilation. In fact the melting pot has not been nearly so effective as in North America. Brazil, for example, looked with suspicion on her unassimilated Japanese and German minorities during World War II. The nature of Latin culture makes it difficult for any but other Latins to fit in easily. Hence, only a limited number of refugees were actually able to settle in Latin America under auspices of IRO, and not all of them received sympathetic treatment. The problems were worse compounded when many European evacuees who were predominantly urban and definitely nonfarm sought to settle in pioneer land provided by South American governments. Unless they were members of a closely cohesive community, like the Mennonites or the Old Ritualist Orthodox farmers, they were exposed to all the insecurities and perils of pioneer life anywhere any time. Thus the very real natural advantages of and needs for new citizens are in part balanced by problems and difficulties common to most of the countries. That IRO was successful in transporting almost 100,000 refugees to new homes in Latin America, therefore, constitutes a high achievement. These were about 10 percent of all persons resettled anywhere in the world.

Argentina received the largest single contingent, almost 33,000 between 1947 and 1951. Over a third were Italians, who would be expected to fit in more easily. Roman Catholics naturally found a readier acceptance than other groups. Relatively few Jews came, although the prewar period brought in about forty thousand, three-quarters of them illegally.

¹⁷ Vernant, p. 582. The material in Vernant is exceedingly detailed, and is best for legal aspects, pp. 579-698.

Argentina has the largest Jewish population in South America. After 1948 more stringent rules were instituted, and each individual refugee had to be processed with all documents. Under the sponsorship of the British a large number of Polish ex-military exiles were resettled, chiefly near Buenos Aires.

Brazil, with almost 29,000 IRO refugees, came second. Quite early arrangements were made between Brazil and IGCR for migration of a sizable group of families, most of whom were settled in São Paulo. This southern state was prosperous, industrial, and growing rapidly. Other states could more readily take agricultural refugees. The Brazilian government participated actively in resettlement procedures and maintained selection missions in Germany, Austria, and Italy.¹⁸ In 1949, however, mass immigration into the country was suspended. Later provisions for settlement of more refugees were reinstated, and Brazil has been the scene of some of the more spectacular specific resettlement projects. One of the most dramatic was the transportation all the way from Hong Kong of a group of Russian Old Ritualists under sponsorship of the World Council of Churches.¹⁹

The third largest segment was sent to Venezuela, another of the more energetic and prosperous nations owing to the great growth of the oil industry. Over seventeen thousand came under IRO auspices—a far greater share proportionate to the total population than in either Argentina or Brazil. With its Instituto Técnico de Inmigración y Colonización founded in 1937, Venezuela was most vigorous in promoting useful immigration. Ten or twelve thousand Jews, Spaniards, Poles, and Russians had already come before and during World War II.²⁰ After the war a Venezuelan mission selected many skilled workers in Germany and Austria, including even physicians and engineers, sometimes difficult to resettle because of their professional status. Excellent provision was made for reception and adjustment of new refugees. After 1948 more restrictions were imposed, a development common to many South American countries at that time.

Other states accepted smaller numbers. In adding all together, however, one is struck by the relatively small total settled in so huge a continent which stands in such great need of people and skills. Latin America has a tremendous unrealized potential which would be well served by immigration of refugees, most of whom, by the very fact of being refugees, are desirable citizens. What is needed is powerful motiva-

¹⁸ Holborn, p. 403; Vernant, pp. 613 ff.

¹⁹ See Chandler, pp. 186 ff.

²⁰ Holborn, p. 408; Vernant, pp. 682 ff.

tion sufficient to cut through the maze of restrictive laws and practices and through that "second wall" which is so formidable in Latin America, the paper wall of applications, affidavits, documents, interrogations, authorizations, and so forth. Right now South America needs people more than she needs bureaucracy.

3. *The South Pacific.* Vast empty Australia is above all others a land of immigrants. Although one dare not ignore the aborigines, they scarcely constitute an influential segment of the pattern of civilization. Hence immigration policy is more important for Australia than for most regions. That policy has been dominated by two major forces: desire for continued high-quality newcomers and fear of Asiatic infiltration. White Australia has had in mind not primarily Negro but Oriental exclusion. A glance at the globe will explain this sensitivity. To recall the great southern drive of the Japanese in World War II is to recall an Australian nightmare.

Another major fact must be kept in mind, namely, the limited capacity of this continent to absorb population. The land can support many more people, but not so many as might be assumed. The interior, except for a few cases like Alice Springs, is totally barren and arid. Only very costly development could open this area for settlement. Regardless of the pressure of population, which is today nonexistent, most of the people will continue to inhabit the eastern and southeastern regions, together with a more limited settlement in the far west.

The government long sought to limit immigration to north Europeans only. For a while only Baltic refugees were accepted.²¹ But a policy filled with restrictions would not satisfy Australian needs. The government itself had estimated its absorptive capacity at 70,000 immigrants a year, a figure soon increased to 180,000.²² As a result of broader base and more effort about 700,000 persons settled in the period from 1947 to 1951, a larger immigration in proportion to population than occurred at any time in nineteenth-century American history. Of these over 182,000 were refugees.

Before World War II Australia accepted about fifteen thousand fugitives, mainly Jewish victims of Nazi persecution. About a third came from Germany itself, the rest from Austria, Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia. After the war Australia became a member of the IRO commission and took an active part in its operations. At first extremely strict standards for selection hampered the work and created much hardship. Only per-

²¹ Holborn, p. 394.

²² Vernant, p. 701.

fectly able-bodied mature single men under forty-five, single women under forty, childless married couples accompanied by parents not over fifty, and married couples with one child were qualified for migration. Medical standards were very high. Gradually the limitations were reduced in the interests of a more practical procedure, and finally Australia was accepting some widows with young children, old people, afflicted people, and unmarried mothers. The emphasis on north European immigrants was also modified.

The first IRO ship docked in November 1947 with 840 refugees. Scarcity of shipping for the long haul to Australia limited actual arrivals. When the United States turned over twelve army transports to the IRO shipping pool, some of this difficulty was removed. In 1949, 75,000 refugees were brought in. During the period of IRO Australia accepted more refugees than any other country except the United States. This record is even more impressive if one realizes that, whereas the proportion of refugees to the population in the United States was one in 450, that in Australia was one in 40. The first arrivals did not receive the carefully planned care for which Australia later won recognition. Sponsorships failed, immediate reception facilities were lacking, and employment opportunities were unavailable. After the initial confusion, however, procedures were improved. The government began to take considerable pride in its provision for assimilation of new arrivals, refugee or other. As a matter of fact, very little segregation of linguistic and cultural groups took place. Refugee settlements as such are practically nonexistent.

During World Refugee Year Australia explained its program of reception to the UNHCR.²³ By 1960 a quarter of a million refugees had been received, part of the 1,600,000 immigrants during the same period. Eighty percent of the refugees had received financial assistance by the government. In outline the program was as follows:

Voyage to Australia—English language classes are arranged by an Australian Education Officer on ships carrying assisted migrants. ICEM escort officers provide the maximum of comfort and assistance to the migrants on the voyage out.

On Arrival—Assisted migrants are met. If they have private accommodation they proceed to it, if not the Government provides initial accommodation for them. Full-fare migrants would generally be met by their sponsors.

Social Service Benefits—Maternity allowance, child endowment, sickness, unemployment benefits, are available immediately. For invalid and widow's pen-

²³ Speech by W. A. Higgin before Executive Committee, reported in UNHCR, *Reference Service*, 1960.

sions 20 years residence is necessary, but special benefits may be paid in cases of hardship.

Free initial accommodation is available to assisted migrants in immigration reception centres for the first seven days after their arrival.

Employment Service—The Commonwealth Employment Service has 134 Branch offices and 338 Agencies throughout Australia all of which assist migrants in obtaining employment. One of our cardinal principles is that a job should be available on arrival for all refugees and other migrants.

After reception of the immigrant the government did what it could to encourage his assimilation in the general society. By a Good Neighbor Movement and other devices attempts were made to break down the barriers between newcomers and the permanent population. Evening classes, correspondence courses, and radio lessons helped in the continuing education of the immigrant. The government even took a direct interest in religious adjustment. In cooperation with the Federal Inter-Church Migration Committee (Protestant) and the Federal Catholic Immigration Committee chaplains were appointed to immigration reception centers. As elsewhere the World Council of Churches assisted resettlement in Australia.²⁴ And as elsewhere the churches provided a needed goad in liberalization of policies.²⁵ They urged the acceptance of some Chinese refugee children from Hong Kong, in opposition to the "white Australia" policy. The reported reaction of the newspaper *West Australian* of Perth was: "Should we take children from Hong Kong in preference to orphans from Britain who would benefit from an Australian upbringing?" Obviously this was a touchy point in relations with refugee movements. Eventually a few Chinese were taken.

The participation of New Zealand in resettlement was similar to that of Australia, but the numbers involved were of course smaller and the procedures somewhat more liberal. Nevertheless in the beginning New Zealand expressed the same preferences for healthy workers under forty-five and for Baltic people rather than ones from southern Europe. In the end, however, humanitarian considerations won out, and three-quarters of the refugees actually settled there were non-Baltic. Older persons and those with disabilities were also accepted in limited numbers. The director general of IRO in 1950 gave special thanks to the people of New Zealand.²⁶

The sensitivity of New Zealand about the national makeup of im-

²⁴ Cf. Chandler, pp. 232 ff.

²⁵ Ecumenical Press Service, 3 Feb. and 31 Mar. 1961. The Chinese problem was reported on 22 June 1962.

²⁶ Holborn, p. 401.

migrant groups is explained by the fact that 95 percent of the inhabitants are of British origin. Moreover, strong loyalty to Great Britain has always been manifest. The Maori minority has from the start played a very active role in public affairs. New Zealand, with a relatively small area, highly mountainous over large regions, and predominantly agricultural in economy, has not felt the need for new citizens so pressing in Australia. But because the islands have not been highly developed, opportunities for immigrants abound.

Arrangements for reception and care of refugees are quite similar to those in Australia. The processes of assimilation have been encouraged by both public and private activity. Since living standards are high, economic opportunities are better than in some other countries of settlement. The main difficulty seems to be the double isolation: New Zealand's remoteness from other civilized lands and the separation of refugee cultural groups from their lands of origin. They have found it hard, as small groups in a land dominated by English ways, to maintain their cultural identity. This situation can scarcely be held against the government, which has done what it could to make possible the preservation of a cultural heritage where such was desired. Along with Australia, New Zealand has opened a crack for settlement of Chinese refugee children, subject to adoption.²⁷

Another complex aspect of resettlement is that of distribution of particular categories of refugees, such as the Spanish Republicans left over from prewar days. This history cannot deal with such details except as they involve religious groups discussed in a later chapter. In recent years, after the great days of IRO, worldwide resettlement has not been so actively promoted. The single major exception is the truly impressive achievement of World Refugee Year. Certainly the work of ICEM, which began after the demise of IRO, has not been comparable. Because of the international situation which affected the United Nations and as a result of American pressure, ICEM was established outside that body with special provision that the U.S.S.R. or her satellites should not participate. In actual fact the main work of ICEM has been provision of transportation for refugees who could not afford passage.²⁸ No international organization has been able to match the success of IRO in direct negotiation of resettlement opportunities with governments concerned. These limitations have been recognized even by the United States, which in 1952 set up its own United States Escapee Program.

²⁷ Ecumenical Press Service, 14 Sept. 1962.

²⁸ Stoessinger, p. 175.

World Refugee Year altered considerably the problems of resettlement. For a brief time doors were opened and hard-core refugees, considered by some to be dead-end cases, were successfully transferred to other countries. Europe was effectively cleared of its main residue of leftover refugees. Less success attended attempts to open up opportunities for Oriental refugees, especially those jammed into long-suffering Hong Kong. The reluctance of "nearby" Australia and New Zealand to accept any Chinese refugees is an example of the opposition and prejudice. The threat of Chinese expansion, very real and increasingly threatening, has sometimes been emotionally exaggerated to the point of seeing a threat in the resettlement of a few helpless Chinese orphans. Latin America has by no means responded as it might to the challenge of resettlement. A program which would be of direct mutual benefit to both those settled and the lands of settlement has failed to come off as it should. The United States and Canada have been generous in money and advice and have taken in, from humanitarian motives, many of the homeless. But immigration policies deeply ingrained, as well as a growing recognition of the fundamental problem of the world in the twentieth century—the uncontrolled growth of population and the desperate need for population regulation—have been limiting factors.

A concluding observation for this chapter on the sowing of refugee seed around the world is that in the future no intelligent planning of service to refugees, especially their permanent resettling overseas, can be made without direct reference to the underlying problem of population. Uncontrolled population will not only create unending new masses of refugees but complicate impossibly the problem of their care and resettlement. Ultimately, the problem of refugees, rightly said to be the characteristic and symbolic problem of this century, must be considered in immediate relation to the larger problem of population. Perhaps the real solution to the problem of refugees lies in the area of birth control.

C. Recent Continuing Movements

No segment of this earth is at once so stirred up and confused and so creative as the continent of Africa. This has been the situation ever since mid-century, when new nations began to emerge from the welter of collapsing colonial empires and surviving tribal entities. Take the one year 1960, for example, when a whole string of independent countries arose across northwest Africa: Senegal, Mauritania, Mali, Upper Volta,

Niger, Chad. In the same year were born Ivory Coast, Togo, Dahomey, Nigeria, Cameroon, the Central African Republic, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The release of powerful pent-up nationalistic, social, and racial forces led to chaos across the whole continent. In the ensuing revolution hundreds of thousands of refugees fled in terror, sometimes passing one another in opposite directions. Since this story is not only very recent but also unfinished at the writing of this book, and hence scarcely within the purview of history, any survey undertaken here must be brief.

A recent estimate reported three-quarters of a million refugees in 1967.²⁹ A year or so before there had been 150,000. These figures do not include any of the large refugee movement which accompanied the Algerian struggle for independence from France in the early sixties. Half of the 1967 refugees moved from Portuguese territories of Angola, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea into the Congo, Tanzania, and Senegal respectively. Another hundred thousand are the Watusi and Bahutu tribesmen who fled from the new little state of Rwanda into Burundi, Uganda, Congo, and Tanzania. The rest migrated from southern Sudan into Uganda, Congo, and the Central African Republic, and from South Africa and Rhodesia into neighboring countries to the north. All these homeless people are under the joint care of UNHCR and the voluntary agencies, especially the Catholic Service to Refugees, the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation World Service, and the Mennonite Central Committee. Much of the food they require comes from the Commodity Distribution Program of the United States. On the other hand, a relatively heavy burden of service has been undertaken by the Africans themselves. A subdivision of the Congo Protestant Council is the Congo Protestant Relief Agency.

Recent refugee movements in Africa, however, began in Algeria, when the troubles attendant upon that nation's painful birth created great violence and confusion before 1962. Huge movements took place both west into Morocco and east into Tunisia, involving some 200,000 people, mostly women and children.³⁰ Many were nomads accustomed to migratory life, but they had lost their herds in the confusion and had no means of support. Some were living precariously in the mountain-

²⁹ T. A. Beetham, *Christianity and the New Africa*, p. 114. Cf. DICARWS, *Newsletter*, July 1967, p. 13.

³⁰ See various publications of UNHCR, including "The Refugee Problem in Tunisia and Morocco," part of the *World Refugee Year*; "New Refugee Situations in Africa," *United Nations Review*, IX (June 1962), no. 6; and "Final Report on Assistance to Refugees from Algeria in Morocco and Tunisia," UNHCR, *Reference Service*, 1963.

desert regions between Algeria and Morocco, others in the high wooded sections of northern Tunisia, others in the deserts of southern Tunisia. All were in want. From 1957 on, help was asked by the host countries of the UNHCR and the International Red Cross. A complex system of distribution centers was set up to reach the hundreds of widely scattered and sometimes almost inaccessible camps of refugees. All kinds of voluntary agencies came in with aid—American Friends Service Committee, Norwegian Refugee Council, International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Protestant Netherlands Radio Organization, National Catholic Welfare Conference, the ecumenical Christian Committee for Service in Algeria, and many others.

The work of the Christian Committee for Service in Algeria, an agency of the World Council of Churches, was especially active because it represented the concerted efforts of relief organizations in both Europe and America.³¹ At its founding in 1962 it laid plans for collecting \$1,400,000 for one year's service to some three million needy Algerians, mostly refugees. The greatest need was resettlement through repatriation when the revolution subsided and Algeria began its life as an independent nation. Almost a third of the population had been uprooted, either to flee to neighboring countries or to find temporary refuge inside. CIMADE joined other groups in helping resettle those who presently streamed back home from other lands or from the crowded cities. The city of Constantine was a beehive of activity. An effort was made to avoid the development of permanent refugee communities, and rather to encourage repatriation or resettlement under conditions in which a decent life was possible. Among the many projects was a huge tree-planting program for setting some 20,600,000 trees in semiarid land by 1965. It served a double purpose, since it provided work for thousands of men, who were paid in the much-needed food. Gradually the Algerian government took over the responsibility for caring for the remaining needy families.

The Algerian episode was but a curtain raiser for the nastier and extended migrations in Africa south of the Sahara. The birth pangs of the new nations brought chaos and suffering to many different tribes in some of the most primitive regions of the continent.

One of the most violent areas was the vast Congo basin, occupied by several new states but principally the Republic of the Congo, the former

³¹ Many new items appeared in the Ecumenical Press Service as CCSA got under way in 1962: 16 Mar. 1962, 23 Mar., 1 June, 21 Sept., 14 June 1963; cf. *Ecumenical Review*, XV (1962-63), 214-15; information also came through the *Newsletter* of DICARWS down through 1964 and 1965: May 1964, p. 15; Aug., p. 4; Nov., p. 1; Feb. 1965, p. 1; Aug., p. 6; Nov., p. 14.

Belgian Congo, which gasped into independent life in 1960. Almost immediately trouble developed, which involved forced movements of people both within the huge state itself and from neighboring territories. Missionaries who had been forced out temporarily by the turmoil began to return and set up skeleton staffs in the fall of 1960. In October a small team was sent out by DICASR to survey the need and was appalled.³² The Congo Protestant Relief Agency was already at work. At least 200,000 refugees of the Baluba tribe had been uprooted and were in need of survival relief. At the beginning of 1961, 20,000 children in Kasai province in the south were reported to be starving. Many of them were involved in refugee movements. During the war in Katanga in 1962 a huge refugee camp rose near Elisabethville, containing 55,000 people, most of them Balubas who wanted to return home in south Kasai Bakwanga region. Within months thousands had been transported home by train and plane. From time to time local violence led to local refugee movements, sometimes of Negroes, sometimes of whites who feared for their lives. Toward the end of 1964, for example, about 1,300 white persons fled from revolt in Stanleyville to Leopoldville.

Another large movement was that of the victims of Portuguese persecution in Angola. About 150,000 were reported in 1961, with thousands more coming every day.³³ Missionaries reported "hordes" pouring in. Homeless Angolan children to the number of 56,000 were wandering in the Congo in 1962. Specific reports came from English Baptist missionaries stationed in those parts of the Congo near the Angolan border, especially around Moerbeke. According to the Rev. David Grenfell, "Most refugees are hungry, but it is the new arrivals who are causing us so much concern just now, they come across the frontier with nothing but the clothes they are wearing." ³⁴ A *Newsletter* of the United States Committee for Refugees stated that 60 percent of the arrivals were children.³⁵ Although they varied from year to year, the migrations had not ended in 1966, for in the first six weeks three thousand more refugees arrived from Angola.³⁶ The Mennonite Central Committee devoted a large part of its limited resources to serving among both the native Congolese and the Angolans.³⁷ Sometimes the MCC representatives worked among remote groups in

³² Ecumenical Press Service, 7 Oct. 1960. Frequent reports were made in Ecumenical Press Service throughout 1960, 1961, and 1962.

³³ *Ibid.*, 18 Aug. 1961.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 9 Nov. 1962.

³⁵ USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10.

³⁶ Beetham, p. 115.

³⁷ Cf. MCC News Service, 20 July 1962, 10 May 1963, 30 Apr. 1965, 27 July 1965.

dangerous situations, especially with medical relief and agricultural help. Missionaries found themselves engaged full time in refuge relief.

Over on the far eastern border of Congo another migration developed in 1959 with the flight of large numbers of Watusi tribesmen from persecution by the newly dominant Bahutas in the territory of Ruanda-Urundi, then controlled by Belgian authorities under United Nations trusteeship. The achievement of independence in 1962, when two new nations, Rwanda and Burundi, were established, did not end the trouble. Around 150,000 refugees came out of Rwanda into Burundi, a country of first refuge, and into Congo, Uganda, and Tanganyika (later Tanzania). In 1964–65 there were about 60,000 in Congo, 48,000 in Uganda, 25,000 in Burundi, and 16,000 in Tanganyika.³⁸ Thousands of Watusi had been killed, and the rest were fleeing for their lives, completely helpless. Again mission stations were overwhelmed with people, all on the verge of starvation. Only immediate emergency relief would keep them alive. Many different agencies jumped in quickly with relief materials—secular groups like CROP and church groups like Church World Service. The governments of Uganda and Tanganyika were able to act efficiently in giving assistance and guidance. But in Burundi and Congo direct action was needed.³⁹ UNHCR was more deeply involved, and so were the Red Cross and other voluntary agencies. The work was continuing as this book was being written.⁴⁰ During the crisis Lutheran World Federation offered to coordinate efforts of the voluntary agencies associated with the World Council of Churches, and an arrangement was worked out in accordance with which LWF took over direction especially in Tanganyika, in cooperation with both the UNHCR and the government of Tanganyika. Locally the Tanganyika Christian Council and the All-Africa Conference of Churches participated. One of the special problems is what to do with the refugees from Rwanda. They cannot be resettled because of almost universal immigration bans. They cannot be repatriated because of the dominant tribal patterns which caused the flight. And integration is difficult because of the primitive situations surrounding. Many must be transplanted to new areas, starting “from scratch.”

Over the vast face of Africa other movements appeared. About 150 missionaries, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, had been expelled from southern Sudan in 1963 under a new Missionary Societies Act. The Anglican Church Missionary Society was quoted as saying, “The church

³⁸ USCR, *World Refugee Report*, 1964–65, p. 6.

³⁹ USCR, *Newsletter*, III (1962), no. 10.

⁴⁰ Press release of UNHCR, 23 July 1965; Beetham, p. 116

in the Sudan is under pressure—greater pressure, probably, than in any other country outside China and some of Russia's satellite states.”⁴¹ It was said that the government was trying to “Islamize” the country. From Portuguese Mozambique thousands of refugees fled into Tanzania in 1964 and 1965. About the same time reports came of scattered flights of Negroes from South Africa, through Bechuanaland across the Zambesi River north into Northern Rhodesia.⁴² Finally, the 1966 revolution in Nigeria created several internal refugee movements from one part to another of that torn country. A special agency of the All Africa Conference of Churches, working out of headquarters in Nairobi, was providing some relief.

Toward the end of the 1960's the African refugee problem continued to increase. The number of homeless estimated for 1967 was over one and a half million.⁴³ Of the fifty-seven nations on the continent, thirty-five had a refugee problem. Establishment of national boundaries has created obstacles to the free movement of nomadic tribes, a factor which complicates the identification of true refugee movements. Changing political structures are followed by changing movements of people. Since the forces which led to flight generally continue in Africa, repatriation is not widely feasible—for example, in Portuguese colonies, Congo, Rwanda. And when “home” means being with the tribe, what happens to repatriation when the whole tribe is in exile? Inevitably many of the refugees must be resettled permanently in the countries of asylum. In a continent in which political complexities have interfered with the effective operation of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the work of the voluntary, especially church-related, agencies has been of crucial importance.

In 1968–69 the conflict in Nigeria over the status of Biafra worsened to the point of creating another major center of refugee activity. A million Biafrans were surviving perilously in refugee camps supplied largely by church-sponsored relief flights. At least another million refugees existed in the jungle or isolated villages without any organized help whatsoever.

Far to the west across the Atlantic from Africa another refugee movement developed in the early sixties. When, at the beginning of 1959, Fidel Castro won control of Cuba, individuals began to get out, but not

⁴¹ Ecumenical Press Service, 25 Jan. 1963.

⁴² *Time*, 10 Apr. 1964.

⁴³ USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1968*, p. 6; see esp. R. Norris Wilson, “Refugees in Africa,” pp. 7, 18–20. Also *Report, 1969*: Geoffrey Murray, “Fish in the Chapel,” pp. 11–13.

yet in large numbers. There was little direct threat to security and property until Castro in due time publicly acknowledged his acceptance of Marxist-Leninism. Only a small number had left the land before then, and many had been able to take most of their possessions with them. Not after the change of line, however! In 1960 and 1961, right down to the missile crisis of October 1962, large numbers fled, some by plane, some by small boat, at the rate of about 1,700 per week. Miami began to be crowded with uninvited guests. For the first time in the modern era the United States found itself playing the role of a country of first refuge. Around Miami the characteristic aspects of first flight appeared, as large camps rose, governed by necessity or chance rather than careful advance planning. The city of Miami and Dade County struggled diligently, and many emergency measures were taken. Children began to swamp the local schools, but they were accepted anyway, though most of them could not even speak English. But the nation, through its federal government, soon had to step in to make provision for the resettlement of these exiles, most of whom had little hope of returning home, especially after the failure of the attempted coup against Castro. A national Cuban Refugee Program was established, and four principal voluntary agencies were called in to assist with processing the cases: National Catholic Welfare Conference, United HIAS Service, Church World Service, and International Rescue Committee. In January 1961 there were about fifty thousand refugees around Miami; by April there were sixty thousand.⁴⁴ During 1962 they continued to pour in, but thousands were being resettled all over the United States in the successful airlift program. After being processed, refugee families, usually about eighty-five persons, boarded a large airliner, and were flown to a prearranged city to be welcomed by those who had guaranteed their resettlement and employment. Many church groups acted as sponsors and guarantors. Church World Service reported it had carried out fifty-three such flights by March, 1963. By 1964 the stream was about dried up, and relatively small numbers were left in Florida waiting resettlement. People continued to trickle in, however.

Then, at the end of September 1965, Castro announced the lifting of emigration restrictions. Anyone who wished to leave Cuba could do so. Flights recommenced toward the end of the year, and about 26,000 more refugees have come to Miami, this time by airlift from Cuba. Since most

⁴⁴ Ecumenical Press Service sent regular reports on conditions. Much of the material of this section is based on them. But see also USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1964-65, 1966-67*.

of the Cubans are Roman Catholic, the Catholic agencies have borne the heaviest load of processing and resettlement.

For the first time Americans learned what it was like to be a land of first refuge for people driven out of their homes directly to the shores of the United States. Even the Hungarian refugees of 1956, although many were quickly resettled in America, went for first refuge to Austria. Although tensions did develop, in general the United States has acquitted itself acceptably. Whether it continues to do so now that thousands of Cubans are settled in the ghettos of the big cities remains to be seen.

While the major movement was directed to the United States, a smaller trickle moved from Cuba to Spain, approximately five hundred per month.

Chapter 36

Refugees for Conscience' Sake

Mingled with the masses of homeless people who have been discussed in the preceding chapters were the individuals who are the central concern of this history—the Christian refugees for conscience' sake. In most situations they were part of a larger movement, probably motivated in the first instance by political factors, from which they cannot readily be separated. Hence the approach so far has dealt frankly with the whole movement. In some cases, however, it is possible to distinguish religious aspects and causative factors. This chapter seeks to define these aspects at two levels: (1) general religious influences in larger movements and (2) specific movements of religious refugees. In the broader sense which applies particularly to the new world of the twentieth century, all the refugees fleeing from totalitarian forces were "religious," but we wish here to sort out those who gave witness to their traditional faith by migration, who were more consciously aware that they were refugees for conscience' sake.

A. The Faithful Among the Masses

Many times in the narration of the mass refugee movements of the twentieth century we have encountered evidences of religious influences among the fugitives. Many times we have seen how, under political persecution, persons have given expression to the faith that was theirs. To the extent that individuals, in their response to secular forces, took a stance based on faith in God or Christ, they are to be described as religious refugees. The spiritual element may be minor, and it may be remote. But insofar as it is present at all, it must be taken into account.

In most of the large movements before World War II there was a religious factor. In the early Greek-Turkish exchanges immediately following World War I the tension was between Orthodox Christian and Moslem. Even the definitions of "Greek" and "Turk" followed a religious pattern. In Turkey a Greek was one who professed Greek Orthodoxy. In Greece a Turk was a Moslem. It cannot be said that the Greeks in Turkey were persecuted simply because they were Orthodox Christians, or that the Turks in Greece were persecuted because they were Moslems. These religious identifications had long been inextricably entwined with nationalistic rivalries. As so frequently in the East, religion had become a national symbol, a rallying point for patriotic devotion. In extreme cases the true *religion* was no longer either Christianity or Islam but rather fervid nationalism. Generally, however, the religious element was a valid part of the structure of nationalism without being swallowed up in it. Thus the Greek Orthodox were religious refugees in the very limited sense that Orthodoxy played a large part in determining their fate. The fact of the matter is simply that there was, and is, no such thing in that part of the world as separation of church and state—even in those modern secular states in which some constitutional provision is made for theoretical separation. To persecute and drive out a Greek from Turkey was also to persecute and drive out an Orthodox Christian. The same was true of a Turkish Moslem in Greece.

Much the same relationships prevail in other movements, such as that of the White Russians after the Revolution of 1917 and the anti-Nazis from Germany after 1933. Many of the Russian intelligentsia, of course, had taken on the secular outlook of western European nineteenth-century philosophy. The descendants of Herzen were not very devoutly Christian, but the descendants of Tolstoy and Dostoevsky were, at least to the degree that the crass materialism and atheism of the Marxists repelled them. This does not deny that some Christians found good in Marxism and that some Marxists found ethical justification in Christianity. In numerous cases, such as that of Nicholas Berdyaev, the Revolution and subsequent exile were deeply spiritual experiences. It was not only a political issue, nor only an economic principle, which divided the Whites from the Reds. A fundamental issue was ultimate faith—the kingdom of God or the kingdom of the classless society. The struggle which resulted in the flight of so many Russians was not only White against Red but Christian against Marxist. To that degree many, although certainly not all, of the White Russian refugees were religious refugees. A Christian, if he was to remain a Christian, *ultimately* had no choice but to stand against Marxism in its philosophy of history.

This much was clear to a select number of the Russian intelligentsia who, in the years immediately before the Revolution, in the process of a mature conversion to the Christian faith rejected the Marxism they had embraced up to that time. Four notable converts were Piotr B. Struve, Sergius N. Bulgakov, Nicholas A. Berdyaev, and Simeon L. Frank.¹ In the influential symposium entitled *Vekhi* (*Signposts*) they, together with like-minded Christians, made clear the incompatibility of the materialistic basis of Marxism with the Christian faith and called the intelligentsia, who had widely wandered from Orthodoxy into Western paths of philosophy, back to the fold. The Revolution of 1917, for all its damage to the church, did accomplish the return of many prodigals. Inside Russia itself this took place, although the Soviet press said nothing about it. More clearly it took place among the refugees.

In the midst of poverty, uncertainty and privation, expelled from their own country, hunted down by their enemies and often misunderstood by other Christians, the Russian intelligentsia in exile has found the pearl of the Gospel parables, a find which has turned its humiliation into triumph, a triumph not of its own but of their Orthodox faith, which the last generation of this secular Order has proclaimed as the truth to the world at large.²

The movements of the Eastern Orthodox in and after the Russian Revolution and in and after World War II are exceedingly complex, especially in view of the internal divisions which rent the various "autocephalic" (self-governing, with independent hierarchy) and "autonomous" (dependent on a higher authority such as the ecumenical patriarch) bodies. The sudden transfer to foreign lands in which the traditional tie with an Orthodox political authority was no longer possible created innumerable problems, especially for the Russians, whose church "back home" was dominated by the Soviet government.³ Whether they emigrated before the Revolution to London and Paris, during the Revolution to France, Serbia, north China, and the United States, or during and after World War II, their problems were complicated by forces both external and internal.

A prime movement was that of the refugees from the Russian Revolution who settled in Yugoslavia. Metropolitan Anthony became the head

¹ They are discussed by Nicholas Zernov, *Russian Religious Renaissance of the Twentieth Century*, ch. 6, pp. 131 ff.

² *Ibid.*, p. 249.

³ Timothy L. Smith has a most valuable chapter, "Émigré Orthodoxy," in his unpublished manuscript "Two Worlds, One Faith," which is the source of this and the following paragraphs.

of this group with headquarters at Sremski Karlovci on the Danube upstream from Belgrade. This "Russian Church in Exile" claimed to possess authority direct from Patriarch Tikhon of Moscow, although the claim was denied by the leaders of the church in Russia. Another principal settlement was in Paris, where the Orthodox refugees gathered around the "exarch," Bishop Eulogius, and the influential Theological Institute of St. Sergius, founded in 1925. In Paris the independent Nicholas Berdyaev, along with Sergius Bulgakov and many younger theologians, provided an intellectual center for Orthodox refugee life. In this way a strong Christian factor continued among the Orthodox refugees. To some extent they were true exiles for conscience' sake.

World War II changed the picture considerably. The churches in exile were cut off not only from the church in Russia but also from the ecumenical patriarch in Constantinople and other centers of Orthodox authority. The Nazi juggernaut in the Balkans wrought havoc in Orthodox communities. After the Nazi occupation the Orthodox refugees stood in danger before the German power and also had to face the suspicions of their erstwhile hosts among whom they had found refuge. The turning of the tide at Stalingrad was welcomed in Paris but feared in Yugoslavia. The isolation of the exiled intellectuals was broken by the victory of the west and Russia. But for Metropolitan Anastassy in Yugoslavia and the thousands of Orthodox people who fled before the advancing Russians the end of the war meant exile redoubled, as bishops and lay people alike fled into the temporary barracks camps set up in the west. Soon a church organization appeared in the camps, led by Anastassy, other bishops, and some two hundred refugee priests. Parallel Orthodox groups of different origin, such as the Ukrainian and Ruthenian, were formed. Every camp had its barracks chapel in which the traditional Orthodox ritual—spare but genuine—continued to symbolize the unity of the people in their faith. They had episcopal leadership of apostolic origin, a full priesthood, and the peculiar Orthodox sense of spiritual oneness. They also had all the ancient and modern confusion of rival claims, rival leaders, rival churches. "These refugee communities," says Timothy Smith, "were in fact congregations, not relocated parishes—new associations, formed among men and women who, strangers and alone, had discovered their kinship in the babel of the camps."⁴ They separated into ethnic groups, each a local congregation in camp, developed unwonted participation of the laity in leadership, struggled to maintain continuity as the population of the camps changed rapidly, and finally

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 87. By kind permission of the author.

languished as the people moved out to places of permanent resettlement. Throughout they not only cherished but nourished the deep political and emotional resentment and hatreds and suspicions brought with them into exile. Nevertheless they preserved one common heritage, one source of spiritual unity—the liturgically centered community of the Orthodox faith, which set them apart from the other masses of purely political refugees.

In dealing with the victims of Nazi tyranny one faces the conflict between the Judaeo-Christian faith and paganism. This paganism took the form of power-hungry reliance on brute force, race mysticism and superstition, and Teutonic mythology. In its claim to total obedience from every man in every aspect of life, Nazism became a religion in itself. For a Christian, therefore, the struggle was one of ultimate loyalty—on the one side, loyalty to God in Christ; on the other, loyalty to the totalitarian state personified in the Leader, *Der Führer*. For a Jew the issue, inextricably associated with the racial theories, became one of loyalty to the One God before whom shall be no other gods and to the Mosaic ethical standard. In any case the religious factor cannot be overlooked or submerged beneath the massive political factor. Even for those Nazis who did not swallow the mythological formulations of Rosenberg and others Nazism became a religion in itself by virtue of the simple claim to total devotion. Germans and others who fled before this dreadful power, therefore, if they stood either consciously or unconsciously in the Judaic or Christian tradition, were refugees for conscience' sake, for the Nazis claimed sovereignty over the conscience as well.

During the war these issues were both exacerbated and confused, the one because so many more millions of men and women faced them through the expansion of the war, the other because the very violence of fighting obscured more basic differences. The same religious factors were operative, however, throughout central and southern Europe—Jew or Christian against pagan, Orthodox or Jew against Marxist materialistic atheist. In strongly Roman Catholic Poland, which had become a dumping ground for unwanted Jews to be exterminated, these issues were drowned in a welter of blood occasioned by the desperate struggle between two anti-Jewish and anti-Christian powers, Russia and Germany. We say anti-Jewish here in the specifically religious sense in Russia and the specifically racial sense in Germany. Even the frightful intensity of the struggle of the underground in France, Norway, the Netherlands, and other countries was not the less religious for all the "worldly" violence. Not many of the desperate underground fighters thought of themselves as Christian in their service. But, perhaps quite unwittingly, they were

deeply motivated by a religious faith in the broadest sense rooted in Christian presuppositions. At least in the negative sense of being against the religion of totalitarianism they were religiously motivated. An excellent illustration comes from the struggle of the Dutch churches, which Visser 't Hooft has taken as the title for a little book.⁵ A pastoral letter issued by the Reformed church leaders in 1943 set forth clearly the opposition between Christianity and Nazism. It begins with the affirmation that National Socialism is a religion in itself, and one to which full commitment of life is required. This life "is the absolute opposite of the life born from faith in Jesus Christ through the Holy Spirit." It has not only a different God and a different set of doctrines but a different morality. The anti-Semitism is an "absolutely clear indication" that Christianity itself is attacked. The deification of the nation, the *Volk*, the emphasis on blood and racial purity—all conspire to set up a religion directly opposed to Christian faith.

It is a religious community with its own hierarchy of officials and with its apex in the mediatory figure of the Leader, who is regarded and worshiped as the highest revelation of the life of the people. . . . Within such a state-system it is fundamentally impossible to lead a free and Christian life; it is equally impossible to keep God's commandments under the eyes of the ruling power without evoking some form of reprisal.

The Barmen Declaration of the German churches exhibits the same understanding of ultimate conflict.

After World War II the principal involvement of religion lay in the continued opposition to Marxist materialism in the satellite iron curtain countries. After 1950 this became an important factor in China as well. Although of course Poles, Hungarians, Czechs, Romanians, and Bulgarians did not flee to refuge outside because they were Christians, still the Christian faith, insofar as it was retained at least in the cultural mold in which they had grown up, played a part in their defiance of the Soviet imperialists. My observation and conversations with leaders in Christian service to refugees offer convincing evidence that most of these postwar refugees were *not* religious refugees as such. In many cases their Christian affiliation was merely formal and had nothing directly to do with their decision to get out. Nevertheless, they were reacting to Communist domination from a combination of influences in their lives, not excluding the cultural background of Christianity. The religious factor may have been the least factor in many cases, but in others it was significant and

⁵ W. A. Visser 't Hooft, *Struggle of the Dutch Church*, pp. 62 ff.

directly and consciously recognized. Refugees from all kinds of tyranny give religious faith as a motive although generally they do not express it in theological terms. The religious affiliation of 523,000 IRO refugees in camps at the end of 1948, so far as known, is instructive: Roman Catholic, 205,000; Jewish, 93,000; Protestant, 88,000; Greek Orthodox, 79,000; Greek Catholic, 45,000.⁶ Instructive also is the story of two congregations of Lutherans who lived in Banat (between Hungary and Yugoslavia). When they were squeezed between the two Communist satellites, they moved out, people and pastor together, to refuge in Austria, where they reestablished their congregations.⁷ Closely parallel are many examples in the history of the Mennonites and of other churches.

The same equivocal relations are seen among the Arab refugees of the Near East. Although they are clearly not religious refugees, the fact that almost all of them are confirmed Moslems cannot be ignored. The Moslem knows nothing of separation of "church" and state. To him his religious life is also his political life. An Arab driven out of Palestine is a Moslem driven out. One must admit, however, that the degree of actual devotion exhibited by the Arab refugee today is not very convincing. His commitment to anything except the mirage of ultimate return takes second place. One would, I think, be wise not to make too much of the religious factor in the present refugee situation in the Near East. The specific Christian groups discussed below are a different story. Lebanon is a special case, in that it is the one Near Eastern country in which Arab refugees are found in Christian camps.⁸ There are two Roman Catholic camps and one Orthodox camp, inhabited by refugees of those religious persuasions. The Catholics have a chapel with a resident priest. It might be noted also that 45,000 of the Arabs still resident in Israel are Christians.

What about the millions forced into refugee status by the partition of India, where movements are still going on? There is, of course, the traditional conflict between Hindu and Moslem. Ever since the Mogul conquest Hindus have resented the Moslem presence. From the beginning the conflict was expressed in political, even military, terms. And the final struggle between the Muslim League and the Hindu National Congress was political. The current forms of conflict are again military. Underneath it all, however, lies the religious issue so startlingly illustrated by the strict Moslem monotheism and the relaxed Hindu poly-

⁶ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, p. 189.

⁷ Information from Arthur Foster, WCC senior representative, Salzburg, in interview 13 Sept. 1965.

⁸ Conversations with Ruth Black and Constantin Vlachopoulos in Beirut, Oct. 1965.

theism and so crassly symbolized in the unclean swine and the sacred cow. The modern secular states of Pakistan and India do not proceed on the single-minded basis of religious faith, although Pakistan would like to believe that it does, and some in India would wish it did. Here again the religious factor must be seen as part of the whole pattern of forces which gave rise to refugee movements in the modern world.

In the case of the Buddhist Tibetans, however, religion may be of major importance. My observations and conversations with those who serve these refugees from the high plateau of Tibet lead to the conclusion that they are not only Buddhist but devoutly so. Buddhism is not exactly a fighting faith, one which gives rise to crusades or holy wars. But it was not merely the Tibetan way of life but the Buddhist faith that was being attacked by the Chinese invaders. The Dalai Lama is not only the political but also the spiritual leader of his people. To a greater degree than in other cases in the Orient, these Tibetans may properly be described as *religious* refugees.

Another special case in India is that of the Christian minority who in 1964 were driven out of East Pakistan. For the first time sizable numbers of Christians were involved in the refugee movements of India. According to the Ecumenical Press Service, "News reports have said that many of the refugees are Christian, and that the majority of these are Protestant. They are said to be fleeing religious persecution in East Pakistan."⁹ These hill tribesmen, the first of the kind to be involved, fled into Assam, around Cooch Behar. There were about thirty thousand of them. Besides the religious factor one should take into account the political differences between Pakistan and India, as well as the cyclical famines which uproot poor people in this part of the world.

Another group of Christians caught in the Orient are the 900,000 from the northern part of Vietnam, of whom most are Roman Catholic. They should not, however, be regarded primarily as victims of religious persecution. They were the unhappy results of the partition of the country into *de facto* North and South Vietnam. Perhaps something of the same could be said of the twenty thousand Tamil refugees from northern Ceylon to Jaffna.¹⁰ Among the refugees from mainland China in Hong Kong are some Christians, but they do not represent any greater proportion among the refugees than they do in the residual population.¹¹ They

⁹ Ecumenical Press Service, 27 Feb. 1964.

¹⁰ Elfan Rees, *We Strangers and Afraid*, p. 6.

¹¹ Interview with Loren Noren, American Baptist missionary in Hong Kong, 10 Nov. 1965.

may be regarded as religious refugees to about the same degree as other Christian victims of Communist tyranny.

Finally, mention should be made of the religious persecution which has accompanied the refugee movement in the Sudan in Africa. Reports in 1963 coming to the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs indicated that, under suspicion that Christian groups favored autonomy for south Sudan, the government has taken action in suppression of the churches. A Missionary Societies Act of 1962 imposed heavy restrictions. Many Roman Catholic and Protestant missionaries have been expelled, including especially those in educational work. No clear distinction is made either in the letter of the law or in practice between "Sudanization" and "Islamization."¹² One suspects that freedom of religion there means freedom of the south Sudanese, who are in large proportion Christian, to become Moslems.

Some profound issues underlie the experience of Christians and Jews in conflict with any and all forms of modern totalitarianism. They are reminiscent of the issues raised in the early church over the claims of martyrdom. Whether to be, under stress of great challenge, a roaring lion of defiance (rebellion), a meek lamb of peaceful resistance (martyrdom), or a wise fox maneuvering (flight as refugee)—that is the question. But the question is far from simple. Few of the thousands of refugees who were indeed committed Christians thought of themselves as lions or lambs or foxes. They were trying to escape an intolerable situation. They seldom thought of themselves as effective participants in a great struggle in which they might have some influence. Almost without exception they were utterly helpless in the grasp of forces not only beyond their control but beyond their comprehension. They scarcely knew what was going on.

Some, like Martin Niemoeller and Dietrich Bonhoeffer, were able to find a way of making effective witness. The concentration camp at Dachau upon liberation contained 326 German Catholic priests.¹³ But even the "Lion of Münster," Bishop Clemens August Galen, who courageously denounced specific evils in the Nazi regime, nevertheless repeatedly inveighed against any form of resistance. This admonition agreed with the Catholic teaching on just and unjust revolutions (parallel to doctrine of war), which permitted official blessing of the Spanish revolution of Franco but not of a democratic revolution against Hitler. Lutheran pastors likewise were caught in their acceptance of the traditional interpretation of the Pauline doctrine of submission to the higher powers. A Christian owes obedience even to Hitler. But what

¹² Ecumenical Press Service, 22 Nov. 1963.

¹³ Guenter Lewy, *Catholic Church and Nazi Germany*, p. 309.

if that obedience means support of or acquiescence in genocide? The shudders of guilt which shook the German churches after the collapse of Nazi power were not only obvious but understandable. Other more favored Christians can only say, "There but for the grace of God go I."

All of the churches were too much involved as institutions. Guenter Lewy's judgment on the Roman Catholic Church, arising from a consideration of the particular aloofness of Pope Pius XII which is the theme of a controversial contemporary drama, *Der Stellvertreter* (*The Deputy*), applies equally to other Christian institutions which have not had the misfortune to last so long: "In the final analysis his stand reflected not so much a personal failure to be courageous and uphold the cause of justice, but the demands of an institution which, for close to 2,000 years, has put its survival as a channel in the salvation of individual souls before the moral demands of its own gospel."¹⁴

Something of the same commingling of contradictory moral issues may be seen in the Russian Revolution and Soviet communism. The churches were placed in a difficult position, burdened with the centuries of dependence on a Tsarist autocracy. But in this case the Jews also were deeply involved. The issues were clear in Nazi Germany, where the Jews were unequivocally rejected. In Russia, however, Jewish intellectuals in particular had been drawn by the attractions of revolutionary Bolshevism in reaction to the stifling oppression of Tsarist Russia with its long record of anti-Semitism. Many others besides the greatest of them all, Leon Trotsky (Leo Davidovich Bronstein), were Jews.¹⁵ The difficulty was not what anti-Semites around the world would make of Jews in leadership of the Communist revolution. The real problem was how the millions of Jewish citizens of Russia, many of them rooted in the most profoundly spiritual expression of the Jewish faith, a chief feature of which was prophetic judgment on the sins of the world in the name of God, would react or adjust to a new totalitarian government that left no room for divine prophetic judgments of any kind. Thus the Soviet attack on the Jews has not taken the form of traditional anti-Semitism but has identified the enemy as Judaism. It thus became not a racial but a religious issue.¹⁶

B. Christian Seed Still Scattered

The line of distinction between true religious refugees and others is exceedingly hard to draw. They are not like monks, who are spiritual

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 244.

¹⁵ Salo W. Baron, *Russian Jew Under Tsars and Soviets*, p. 203.

¹⁶ See Walter Kolarz, *Religion in the Soviet Union*, ch. xii, esp. pp. 372-73.

refugees fleeing from the world. They are very much in the world—that is the source of their trouble. They are enmeshed and embroiled with the world, and they know the world only too intimately. They are usually quite ordinary people, families struggling to get along with all the tensions and loyalties which beset and bless other families. They have to work for a living and have developed certain skills and crafts enabling them to make a salable product or perform a useful service. They have their deep-set opinions on politics, economics, and society in general. In other words, their associations and concerns are much like other people's. What distinguishes them is the degree to which their faith is brought to bear on the understanding of these issues and the living of these days. Insofar as they are committed Christians, they approach the issues and the days in a special and different way, for the factors of God's creative power and Christ's redeeming grace have been added. This attitude makes a difference in their lives, for their very ground of being is no longer merely the material forces of the world, although they live in it, nor themselves alone individually or *en masse*, although they live with people everywhere; rather it is the undergirding which supports all their responses to the opportunities and challenges of life.

For them probably the greatest challenge is the demand of the state, expressed by political or military means, that they submit to a claim on their lives and loyalties which excludes or specifically rejects the claims of their Christian faith. This has led some of the anti-Nazis, although by no means all, to leave their homeland rather than go along with the totalitarian demands laid upon them. Whatever may be said of the others, these are true religious refugees, as are those Russians, probably a small minority, who saw in materialistic Marxism as applied by force to the Russian nation a direct negation of their faith. Such was the peculiar character of the Russian Orthodox Church and such was the special historical tradition which bound it to the state that relatively few White Russians were thus religiously motivated. But there were some. Every nation has had its Barths and Tillichs and Berdyaevs and Bulgakovs, just as it has had its Bonhoeffers and Berggravs and Tikhons. Some stayed and some went. All were trying to remain faithful.

In this section we select a few groups which apparently demonstrated more directly a Christian motivation for their exile. They also, be it said at the outset, were moved by other forces, especially political forces and fear of military destruction. Their motives were complex, as they almost always are in significant challenges. But their response suggests that their faith, manifested either in terms of individual commitment or in terms of collective institutional loyalty, was a prime factor. Two groups

have already been discussed in the general survey. Two more have been saved for this chapter and will require fuller attention. Space will not permit inclusion of other small groups, such as the Hutterites of Paraguay and the Nazarenes from Yugoslavia.

At the very outset of the twentieth century we encountered the Armenians. Since their peculiar form of Christian faith was for centuries a symbol of their national consciousness and the center of their loyalty, they must be considered as, to a significant degree, religious refugees. The persecutions of the Turks, culminating in the wartime deportations, turned this nation into a wandering people, scattered in as wide-reaching and as tragic a diaspora as that of the Jews. The Turks intended to get rid of all 1,750,000 of them. Actually about a third remained in Turkey. But of those who were expelled, over a half-million died en route to refuge. The Armenian Republic in the U.S.S.R., the large Armenian community in Syria, and the worldwide dispersion resulted. Through it all these Christians, led by the supreme catholicos, head of the Armenian Apostolic Church, maintained their sense of unity. That cultural unity was cemented by their adherence to a variant form of faith sometimes described as Monophysite, but more accurately Orthodox. Only in part are they really religious refugees. But since the church has always played so great a role in their national history, and since their faith has always been at the center of their national consciousness, and since the source of their persecution was historically a vigorous opponent of Christianity, they may be included in the ranks of scattered faithful.

A similar view may be taken of the Assyrians, a small Christian minority driven out by non-Christians from ancestral homes. They too preserved a peculiar form of Christianity over centuries. They too have looked to a spiritual head—the Mar Shimun—for political leadership. Their faith has been a part of their national consciousness. On the other hand, they never had a country of their own or enjoyed independence, nor have they maintained strong unity of ecclesiastical loyalty. There exist today Nestorian Assyrians, separate from Rome, and Chaldean Assyrians, related to Rome. Their history has been not more tragic but more discouraging. And they are pathetically few.

One group of refugees certainly deserve to be counted among those who have fled for conscience' sake: the Old Believers, or Old Ritualists, of Russia. Although the principal occasion for their exile was a political event—the Russian Revolution—nevertheless they belong in the main tradition emphasized in this book. Long persecuted in their country of origin, ever since their beginnings in the seventeenth century, few had left their homeland. They had been refugees, indeed, within Russia. The

Bezpopovtsy (the unpriested) especially had been driven into the more remote forested areas of the vast land to take up the life of wandering prophets and homeless people. Small groups settled in primitive backwoods villages where they worshiped as Christians who had no "church." There was no church any more, anywhere on earth. The City of God was no longer on earth at all. The whole duty of the Christian was to await patiently the day of the Lord. In their faith they were encouraged by the wandering prophets, but they lacked priestly functions, including the sacraments. This group particularly, but all of the Old Ritualists generally, knew the meaning of persecution and exile, yet they found their refuge within the expansive boundaries of Russia until the Russian Revolution. When it came, they suffered along with the mainline Orthodox church from which they had split.

There were of course many devout Christians among the Orthodox White Russians who fled the terror of the Revolution and the establishment of communism following it. They have been noted above. Our concern here is with those schismatics who, from the very fact that they have been able to survive centuries of persecution by church, tsar, and commissar, have proved their faith beyond the call of duty. They are hard to understand because little is actually known about them. Sometimes they have been so shadowy as to appear not to be there at all. Especially difficult is the attempt to trace their history under the Soviets.

These Old Ritualists had to endure the same antireligious pressure as did other Christian churches. Since the Orthodox church was bound to the tsarist tradition, the Old Ritualists, as a fundamentalist schismatic movement, were in an equivocal position. In fact the Soviets did not know what to do about them. In the 1920's and 1930's the official line, set forth by M. N. Pokrovsky, a historian friend of Lenin, was that they were a "people's church" which revolted against the tsarist-dominated great church. Under Stalin the opposite attitude was maintained: they were reactionaries who opposed reforms in the church. But after the fall of Stalin they were regarded once again as worthy dissenters against a reactionary church-state.¹⁷ Needless to say, all three views were wrong, distorted by the anti-religious bias of the Soviets. Always, however, they were regarded as a part of that body of superstition, the Christian church, which, along with all other forms of religion, should be eliminated from the land of the sometime-to-come classless society. Even after the two and a half centuries of persecution by the tsars, they numbered, according to the census of 1897, 2,205,000, or a little less than 2 percent of the

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 128-32.

population. This figure is certainly a serious underestimate, if only because Old Ritualists have always been reluctant to be counted—or even named. Ever since their separation from the Russian Orthodox church they have sought voluntary isolation from society, especially the state.

All of this applied doubly to relations with the Soviet state. It might be said of them that they quit before they were fired. The Bezpopovtsy especially had long since taken refuge in remote areas in which they would have as little as possible to do with the state—any state. Some of the more extreme groups were, politically speaking, pure anarchists. On the other hand, the more moderate had been able to adjust to social and political life sufficiently to maintain a large community in Moscow itself, where under the Soviets some fifty thousand were reported.¹⁸ Rough estimates (nothing else is available) gave a figure of about three million Popovtsy, the more moderate branch, in the 1940's.¹⁹ The attempt to number the various groups of Bezpopovtsy is hopeless. It is certain, however, that they did survive into the twentieth century and exasperated the Soviet government many times. Some, the "Shore Dwellers," lived in the far north along the Arctic. Another group, the "Wanderers," were so called because their central expression of Christian devotion was abandonment of home in order to lead the nomadic life of the penniless prophet. They were like the Cathari of the Middle Ages, with their select inner group of "perfecti." Total commitment for the Wanderers meant the pulling up of stakes, leaving home, to wander as a means of escaping the attachments of this world and of searching for the true heavenly home. In the later period this original fervor subsided. At last some fairly well-settled peasants were satisfied if they could die in their gardens, which symbolic act enabled them to say they had left home.

Obviously we have to do here with varying types of Christians, some of them "way out," others fairly stable. The Soviets found none of them easy to handle. Many groups were so isolated that years went by before they even heard of the change of government. They were really refugees before the hard pressure of communism came their way. And they proved very resistant to any changes. So huge is the expanse of the U.S.S.R., especially the Asiatic portions of it, that little colonies of Old Ritualists could get along for years without any effective interference by the state. In the period between the world wars a favorite refuge was Moldavia, most of which was then part of Romania. Until the sequel to World War II brought Communist expansion into the Balkans they lived quietly in villages which for generations had been strongly Old Believer.

¹⁸ Nikita Struve, *Les chrétiens en U.R.S.S.*, p. 132.

¹⁹ Serge Bolshakoff, *Russian Nonconformity*, p. 64.

In Russia itself they were to be found chiefly in the more remote areas unless they had made their peace with the political powers, like the large community in Moscow. The more remote, the more rigidly uncompromising were they in the expression of faith. One important center was in Siberia south of Lake Baikal in the Buryat Autonomous Republic. Another lay in the valleys of the majestic Altai Mountains. Several communities, mostly fishermen, were in the south around the Aral Sea, especially near the mouths of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya. In the Far East near the Manchurian border some Old Ritualists have lived in such splendid isolation in the Ussuri Forest that they were almost unknown to the Soviet authorities.²⁰ There is even an invisible legendary city hidden by the waves of a little lake—Grad Kitezh. It was believed that this city disappeared in a miracle during the Mongol invasions and preserved the true gospel until the arrival of the Old Ritualists. Pilgrimages were still being made to the lake during the Soviet period, to the scandal of the Communists. Here we are close to the core of the faith, especially of the Bezpopovtsy, who have given up the world to Satan or anti-Christ. The migration to remote regions was not simply a means of escaping imperial—or Soviet—persecution. It was not so much a flight as a pilgrimage, in search of the Land of Promise, *Belovode*, where anti-Christ does not rule, where Christians could live once again in communion with the world and with God. Russia being Russia, this land was in the east. Here is a spiritual Russian equivalent of the secular American westward movement. Perhaps the utopian experiments on the American frontier are the closest parallels. One must remember that these people, almost completely isolated from the modern world, had very primitive ideas regarding the actual geography of the earth. Some of them were living in the kind of world in which geographers peopled the vast blank places with exotic creatures and dragons, and located Cathay, Cipango, the Northwest Passage, and Shangri-La in the most unlikely longitudes.

These, then, were the people, already refugees in a permanent sense, who emerged under Communist pressure at various points on the perimeter of the U.S.S.R. Some moved south into Turkey, where they were surprised to discover a small remnant of about five thousand priestless Old Ritualists who had fled from persecution in the time of Peter the Great (1685–1725). The “old” Old Ritualists had been practically forgotten by the outside world, had lived for generations in the Ottoman Empire and served in Turkish armies. After the Russian Revolution some

²⁰ Kolarz, pp. 137–46, has a very helpful discussion.

of them returned to the Soviet Union under encouragement by the Soviet authorities, but repatriation was not attractive to most. A small group were still living in poverty in Turkey in 1963, when the WCC and the Tolstoy Foundation made possible their resettlement. In June 1963, 224 Old Ritualists landed in New York, their transportation paid by the United States government through ICEM. They came as parolees under the Immigration and Naturalization Act of 1952. Various agencies, including the MCC and the AFSC, participated in their reception. Some were housed at a Tolstoy Foundation farm in New York State. The rest went to a migratory workers' camp which was reconditioned by volunteers provided by the MCC. Many quickly found employment in factories. Although the local community had difficulty in accepting "foreigners" who spoke Russian and Turkish and who came with sixty-five children, no serious conflicts developed. The Old Ritualists have faced obstacles before. For them such trials have been a way of life.²¹

This raises the fascinating topic of resettlement of Old Ritualists in Brazil. Edgar Chandler, who was himself responsible as representative of the WCC DICARWS for much of the project, has a chapter on the episode in *High Tower of Refuge*. These particular people had earlier settled in Asiatic Russia and then, in the late 1920's, migrated into Manchuria and established themselves near Harbin, where they lived until 1945.²² In 1947 many of the men were forced into Soviet labor camps. Then, in 1951, the Chinese Communists interfered with their farms, and life became almost intolerable. An appeal to the WCC brought their desperate situation to the attention of the outside world. After years of frustrating negotiation, during which the Chinese appeared alternately desirous of getting rid of them and anxious to prevent their departure (nothing new in this situation), they were gradually and reluctantly released, with the precious exit permits, to Hong Kong.

That was part of the job, getting them out of China. But the biggest job still remained—finding them a permanent home. While negotiation proceeded at the customary slow international rate, more than a thousand new refugees of European background, half of them Old Ritualists, crowded into Hong Kong. Paraguay and Venezuela were considered and abandoned. When a refuge was found, shipping was scarce. When passage was obtained, money was lacking. Finally all arrangements fitted together and five hundred were transported across the Pacific Ocean to California, where they picked up farming equipment and supplies, then south to

²¹ Ecumenical Press Service, 3 May 1963, and information provided by AFSC.

²² Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, pp. 178 ff.; *Time*, 2 June 1958.

the state of Paraná, in southern Brazil. There the WCC had purchased and made accessible six thousand acres of farm and woodland.

A report made in 1964 indicated a successful transplanting of people as well as crops.²³ Two settlements have been developed, both near the Brazilian town of Ponta Grossa. Over a thousand were living in farm villages in the two locations, the first of which began in September 1958. Russian-style houses and Russian-style farming methods were introduced into this former Portuguese colony. Problems have arisen, naturally. Disease has taken its toll. The Old Ritualists, always stubborn, have refused to form cooperatives, which remind them of Soviet pressures. A few families have left. In this same year, however, reports came of continued movements of Old Believers out of China.²⁴ A settlement which had been in Sinkiang for thirty years was breaking up, and some refugees had already reached Hong Kong, after a hard journey of 3,500 miles across China. They would be resettled in Brazil or perhaps Australia.

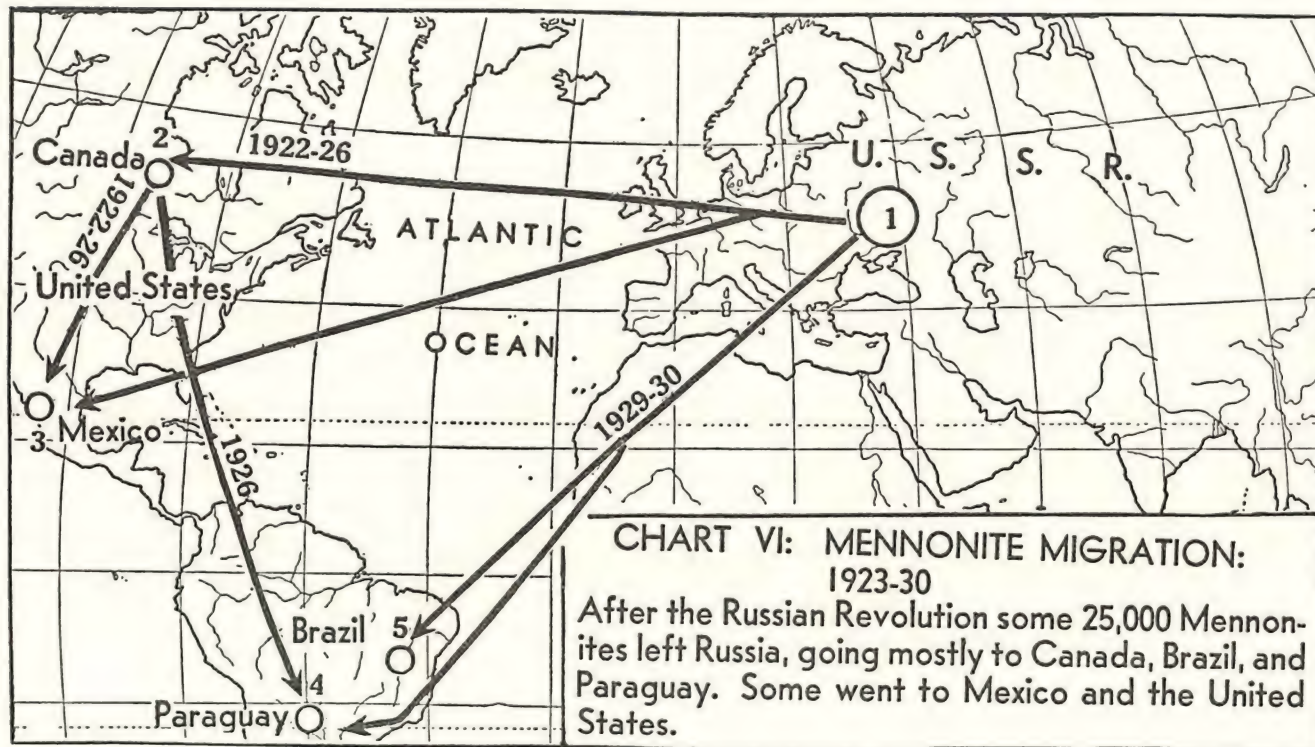
C. The Mennonites

Those durable Christian refugees, the Mennonites, were still on the go in mid-twentieth century. They had been through a series of terrible experiences equal to anything in their long trial of suffering. The ordeal proved to be a source of courage and faith. But the total impact of the modern world was taking its toll, not so much in the disasters which came in the train of totalitarian oppression as in the secularism which was making deep inroads in Mennonite piety, as in most other Christian communions. Nevertheless, these people stand as a remarkable example of the truly Christian refugee for conscience' sake in the twentieth century. Although of course they were motivated by other considerations, not the least of which was economic, the prime factor in their migrations, at least those undertaken because of political pressure as over against mere expansion of the community, was religion.

The first major challenge to the peaceful agrarian life of the Mennonites came during the first world war as a result of the Russian Revolution. The communities in the Ukraine, Chortitza and especially Molotschna, had prospered as Mennonites always prospered on good land. A bountiful harvest of wheat and children had led to multiple extensions of land-holdings, over toward the Caucasus and up and down the Volga. But the disruption of war and revolution changed all that. The Ukraine, un-

²³ DICARWS, *Newsletter*, June 1964.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, Aug. 1964.



Courtesy, Mennonite Library and Archives, North Newton, Kansas

fortunately, was the scene of indecisive military operations which brought great suffering. When German troops advanced in 1918, conditions improved temporarily. But then the anarchistic Nestor Makhno, who gave trouble even to the revolutionary Bolsheviks, overran the Ukraine, including the Mennonite settlements. Under the extreme provocation some of the Mennonites took up arms to protect their homes and families—without great success.²⁵ During spring and summer 1919 Makhno controlled Taurida province under a reign of terror. The White Russian General Denikin then established himself for a few months, until Makhno drove him out. Finally the irresponsible rebel was himself driven out by Bolshevik troops in 1920. One can readily understand why so many Mennonites joined General Wrangel when, with 135,000 military and civilian refugees, he sailed on French ships from the Crimea to Constantinople. It should be noted that, in all this suffering, the Mennonites were not alone. In fact they lost less in proportion than the population as a whole. Some also left with the retreating German army.

In August 1917, between the two revolutions, the Mennonites had held an All-Russian Mennonite Congress, which resulted in the establishment of a central office for handling problems of relations with the new government. When the Bolsheviks won their gamble for control, some Mennonites were able to cooperate with the new government, and some even became Communists. Reasons for the continuing secularization of Mennonite communities around the world may be found in the shock of exposure to such powerful forces as Soviet communism and Nazi totalitarianism. A number of Mennonites almost eagerly accepted the program of the latter. *Die Stille im Lande* were not so still after all.

By 1919 it was apparent that Christians generally, and peculiar Christians in particular, would have a hard time with the Soviet government. Several early investigations were made with a view to emigration. A committee composed of A.A. Friesen, B. H. Unruh, and C. H. Warkentin sailed early in 1920 with Wrangel to Constantinople and thence to the United States. This study commission (1) obtained help for the distressed Mennonites in Russia during the terrible early years of revolution and famine, and (2) investigated possibilities for resettlement. Explorations in the United States and Canada were helped in the former by the venerable senator from Nebraska Peter Jansen and in the latter by Gerhard Ens. Out of these activities arose the Mennonite Central

²⁵ By far the best source for twentieth-century movements is Frank H. Epp, *Mennonite Exodus*. For the earlier decades see also Sanford C. Yoder, *For Conscience Sake*, and T. O. Hylkema, *De Geschiedenis van de Doopsgezinde Gemeenten in Rusland in de Oorlogs. ME* under many specific headings is always useful.

Committee and the (Canadian) Central Relief Committee. Another organization was established to deal with migration, the Canadian Mennonite Board of Colonization, headed by David Toews, himself an earlier immigrant from Trakt in Russia first to Kansas and later to Canada. Together with A. A. Friesen, he was a key figure in the subsequent movements to Canada. The committee discovered that the United States was effectively closed by the new immigration laws, and that Mexico was problematic because of political instability during the presidency of Obregón and questions about the anticlerical legislation, which was directed primarily against the conservative Roman Catholic church in Mexico.

Not all of the Ukrainian Mennonites were determined to leave. The introduction of the New Economic Policy made possible a more normal agrarian life, and some Mennonites began to think that an adjustment might be made. The Allrussischer Mennonitischer Landwirtschaftlicher Verein, founded in 1923, included Mennonites outside of the Ukraine and sought to provide a basis for adaptation to life in the Soviet state.²⁶ But this was not the outlook of the study committee or of those who sent it. Its report, submitted in 1922, concluded that migration was unavoidable. After noting the economic and political factors, the report went on to emphasize the central reason for moving out:

In addition to the motives already cited here there are chiefly the ethical, moral, and religious motives for consideration. There are the persons with deeper and clearer vision from all classes and all places of our society, especially in the original colonies, who are unable to make any compromise or begin any rebuilding because they have recognized that not only the economic but also the social and moral foundations for such building are missing, which alone can be the determining factor for us. For the system of communistic influence, which is at present being carried out largely and with disregard for our principles of freedom and religion, goes contrary to our ideals and can therefore not be accepted by us. Therefore it is impossible for us to stay here.²⁷

Acting on these recommendations, the Mennonites planned an orderly migration, preferably to Canada. One major political barrier, however, had to be removed first: the war-generated prohibition against immigration of Dukhobors, Hutterites, and Mennonites. Under the sympathetic liberal administration of Prime Minister Mackenzie King this law was repealed in 1922. The Soviet government, more permissive in its early years, agreed to the departure from Odessa. Arrangements were made

²⁶ *ME*, I, 62-63.

²⁷ Report of the *Studienkommission*, quoted in Epp, p. 48.

with the Canadian Pacific Railroad for transportation to the West. Only the ubiquitous financial problem remained. It was acute now because the Mennonite farmers, previously well situated, were impoverished by the Revolution and the nationalization of all property. The Mennonite Colonization Association of North America was a partial answer. But, owing to insufficient organization and indifference among widely scattered groups, money continued to be an irritating factor for many years.

In July 1923, 750 persons left Chortitza to sail to Quebec. They were, of course, not the first Mennonite refugees from Russia. Constantinople was for years an escape channel for a hundred thousand Russians of all kinds; an American Mennonite relief group had long worked there. But now a planned migration took place, in which altogether about twenty thousand people gathered in trains in the Ukraine, traveled to western or southern ports, sailed across the Atlantic, and settled in prepared communities in Canada. It was not the first time, either, that Mennonites had found refuge in North America. This was, in fact, the third great migration. Over a hundred thousand had preceded them along a similar path.²⁸ Conditions were different this time. No longer was Canada so wide open that the immigrants could settle together in compact communities with a huge block of land all their own. Now they were dispersed in smaller groups among the general population. Perhaps this would have been better from the start; but the Mennonites feared the destructive forces of secular society.

About 675 Mennonites, then, came to Rosthern, north of Saskatoon, Saskatchewan, by train on 21 July 1923. They received a hearty welcome from their compatriots and coreligionists, appreciated all the more because central Saskatchewan seemed a long way from home. The beloved "Nun Danket Alle Gott" rose from thankful throats. The endless fields were reminiscent of the Ukraine, and the bitter Canadian winter was still far off. One group came from Baratov, Ekaterinoslav province, representing the larger part of the Mennonite population.²⁹ Another came from Chortitza. Those who remained in this town took part in the later mass flight to Moscow and subsequent emigration—or rather escape—to Canada and Paraguay. Those who came to Rosthern that July day did not realize at once that their coming was accepted with mixed feelings by the Canadians generally. While preparations were under way voices of opposition were raised—often vigorously. Some Canadians, mindful of increasing French Canadian tension, believed that Canada already had quite enough troublesome linguistic minorities. In addition, pacifism in

²⁸ See summary information in *ME*, I, 501 ff.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 232, 573.

wartime has never been very popular. But after the settling was accomplished, the hosts, at least in public, showed their natural goodwill and joined in the welcome. By 1928 the twenty thousand refugees were settled in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. Years of large immigration, over five thousand each year, were 1924 and 1926. There were some difficulties and injustices. By arrangement all refugees were supposed to stop off in Germany at Lechfeld *Durchgangslager* (transit camp) for medical checkup. Here those rejected for medical reasons were detained, sometimes with their healthy families. Atlantic Park, near Southampton in England, also was a detention center.

There were difficulties in obtaining land. Although Canada had a statute like the United States Homestead Act, the Dominions Land Act of 1872, large tracts were not readily available. Moreover, the cost had gone up. When it became apparent that the Mennonites could not finance a large land operation in the usual ways, a set of agreements known as the "Mennonite Terms" was drawn up, under which the Mennonites received extremely broad credit, a tribute to their reputation for integrity in business. The Mennonite Land Settlement Board acquired thousands of acres under these terms. Thus new blood was added to the old settlements, and new areas were opened. The migration declined in 1927 and was over by the time of the Soviet First Five-Year Plan, which imposed the oppressive collective system on Russian agriculture.

Not all of the refugees sailed to Canada. A minority went to Mexico, attracted by the generous terms and ignoring the uncertainties. All kinds of immigrants were welcomed except those with contagious diseases; free customs entry and free railroad passage were promised; and long-term credit on land was arranged. Some Mennonites, especially those appalled at the Canadian winters and discouraged by high medical requirements, began to think that Mexico, for all her history of political instability and anticlerical attitudes, might not be a bad place after all. Three hundred came in 1923 and more the next year. But their experience was not very happy. Farming conditions in arid Chihuahua state, where most were sent, were discouraging. The excitable Mexican-Latin temper was the opposite of that of phlegmatic Dutchmen. Poor planning, with resulting discomfort and crowding, added to the troubles. Consequently many of the newly arrived began to move north into Canada. Curiously, this movement was two-way. Other refugees were dissatisfied with Canada, for either climactic or political reasons. A prime problem was the schools, which were subject to governmental standards. In 1927 and 1928, 3,500 from Manitoba and 2,000 from Saskatchewan went to Mexico, and 1,750 more migrated to Paraguay. Many of the latter lived

to regret that move. Years later, in 1947 and 1948, another group of Canadian Mennonites moved to Mexico. These were the more conservative types, who objected to even the broad Canadian controls. They began a new, and hard, life in Chihuahua state, in communities they founded on the huge estate formerly known as Los Jagueyes. The *Kleine Gemeinde* and Old Colony people were used to hard work, but the hard farming in Chihuahua, the great distances to markets, the dry land would challenge even the best. Nevertheless, there they were, following their customary optimistic plans, naming their villages emotionally rather than accurately (Eichenbach for a place with neither oaks nor brooks; Friedeneshöhe—Pacific Heights).³⁰

In 1928, however, the Mennonites who had remained in Russia wished they had gone with the others. This was the year of the First Five-Year Plan, which emphasized, along with developments of heavy industry, the collectivization of the farms. Mennonite farmers now found themselves lumped together as kulaks, small capitalistic farmers, the very group designated for liquidation under the plan for collectives. In November it became known that seventy Mennonite farmers from Siberia had fled to Moscow, where they besieged the authorities with demands for exit permits. Exasperated beyond patience, they were given the permits after six months' delay and migrated to Canada. But now everybody else who feared collectivization and had heard of the successful seventy descended on Moscow from all directions, precipitately—from Siberia, Crimea, the Caucasus, Kuban, Memrik, from all the old and new Mennonite settlements. It was a flight curiously in reverse: from home *toward* the source of persecution. But this source was also the only apparent way out. Thousands of Mennonites gathered without any means of support or shelter in the suburbs of Moscow and asked for exit permits like those acquired by the seventy. Peter Fast as a participant gave an account:

During the latter half of 1929 the great trek to Moscow began. People would sell their belongings at public auction sales and then leave, not knowing whether there was any chance of successfully leaving the country. But with nothing to lose and everything to gain there was but one choice. Soon auction sales were declared unlawful and detachments of mounted police were patrolling the countryside to disperse the crowds. . . . In desperation whole groups of families fled secretly by night, leaving all they owned, including their home, stock, and implements to anyone who cared to take possession. Among the roughly 15,000

³⁰ Walter Schmiedehaus, "New Mennonite Settlement in Mexico," and Peter J. B. Reimer, "From Russia to Mexico," *Mennonite Life*, IV (1949), 26 ff. and 28 ff.

potential emigrants gathered in the suburbs of Moscow were Mennonites, Lutherans, Catholics, even some Greek Orthodox Russians from far away Siberia. . . .³¹

The appalled authorities of the city had five thousand sudden visitors. With uncommon willingness the Soviet government offered to permit them to leave the country without individual passports and to provide shipping, from Baltic ports.

Unfortunately Canada, the preferred country of refuge, was not ready to accept more German-speaking Mennonites. When Canada balked, Germany balked in providing transit facilities, fearing a permanent burden as the world depression gathered. The Canadian Pacific Railroad, which had been ready to provide transportation, balked. By this time there were thirteen thousand refugees in Moscow seeking exit. When the patience of the Soviets was exhausted, they were sent back home or to Siberia in cattle cars in winter. A minority, 5,671, escaped westward into Germany. Of these, 3,885 were Mennonites, 1,260 Lutherans, 468 Catholics, 51 Baptists.³² They were finally resettled in Brazil, Paraguay, and Canada. Others fled eastward across Asia and south into Turkey and other countries. The eight thousand who did not escape were liquidated along with the other kulaks.

Why did Canada, known for generosity to immigrants in many cases, say No! at so crucial a time? One reason was bad publicity. Canadian citizens were led to think more of the problems of national minorities and potential competition for jobs than of the advantages of high-quality immigration. It was said that 20 percent of the immigrants did not enter farming, as they had promised, but took jobs in towns and cities. Underlying all this was the fear of depression, a substantial fear as this decline came to be called the Great Depression. Germany, when confronted with illegal escapees, provided transit help in spite of the large economic problems which beset the country just before the rise of the Nazis. Canada did eventually take some of them.

The main haven this time, however, was South America. The *Monte Olivia* sailed from Hamburg 16 January 1930 with the first group to Brazil. They were certainly not lost in a sea of Portuguese-speaking Brazilians. Already the country had a German population of 600,000. The Hanseatic Colonization Society worked with B. H. Unruh to arrange settlements in Santa Catarina state, in the south. Two new Mennonite communities were founded, Witmarsum and Auhagen. Altogether over a

³¹ Peter Fast, "Mennonites on the Move," *Mennonite Life*, XIV (1959), 14.

³² Epp, p. 236; cf. *ME*, I, 408.

thousand people migrated to Brazil. To these should be added 180 more from Harbin in Manchuria.

Over two thousand went to Paraguay with the help of the Mennonite Central Committee. Already about seventeen hundred had come from Manitoba and Saskatchewan, in 1926, but had begun the new life in Paraguay only in 1928. The experimental colonies in Paraguay deserve particular attention, and they have received it.³³ In the middle of the least-developed state in all Latin America little communities of German-speaking Mennonites sprang up, surrounded by a hundred miles of jungle. The first communities were in the Gran Chaco, a region as large as Nevada. The first colony, called Menno, was founded in 1926 by the Manitoba Mennonites who thought they could live more freely in accordance with their faith in the backwoods of Paraguay. Backwoods it was—four-day boat trip up the Paraguay River from Asunción to Puerto Casado, thence on private narrow-gauge railroad for ninety miles west into the Chaco, and finally fifty-five miles by wagon or truck over forest track to the colony. The would-be colonists had an unpleasant introduction to Paraguayan standards of efficiency as they had to wait sixteen months in temporary tent villages near the river while surveying was done. The next year saw the terrible typhoid epidemic. Not until April 1928 did they arrive on their extensive land, to discover that much of the fine grass of the *campos* was inedibly bitter and much of the water supply was foul. But they had faced obstacles before. Not easily were they discouraged. With grim determination they went ahead with the settlement and made it grow. It became the largest refugee settlement in Paraguay, with a population in 1958 of 4,457.³⁴

The second colony, and the first established directly from European migration, was Fernheim, also in the Chaco. The immigrants were mostly from the Mennonites who had fled precipitately to Moscow in 1928 and subsequently escaped to Germany. They arrived in Paraguay in 1930. The most interesting addition, however, was a group of 367 persons who had come from the other side of the earth on a voyage lasting three months. These people were among the Mennonites who had settled in 1927 in the far east of the U.S.S.R. in the hope of escaping the pressures of Soviet collectivization. Their community was near the Amur River, which separates Russian from Manchurian territory. As Soviet authority

³³ See Joseph W. Fretz, *Pilgrims in Paraguay*; H. Hack, *Die Kolonisation der Mennoniten im Paraguayischen Chaco*; and several articles in *Mennonite Life* and *Mennonite Quarterly Review*.

³⁴ J. W. Fretz, "Statistics About Mennonites in Paraguay," *Mennonite Life*, XVI (1961), 172-73.

was extended more and more thoroughly across Asia, they found life more and more untenable. At last, in bitter midwinter, on the nights of 16 and 17 December 1931, they made a sudden escape in sleds across the frozen Amur, thus evading the numerous Soviet border guards. Gathered in Harbin, Manchuria, 550 of them tried without much success to start a new life. Two hundred managed to gain admission to the United States, but the rest migrated to Paraguay, where they arrived in Fernheim in 1932.³⁵ By 1958 this community had increased to 2,500 persons. Friesland, with almost a thousand, was an offshoot.

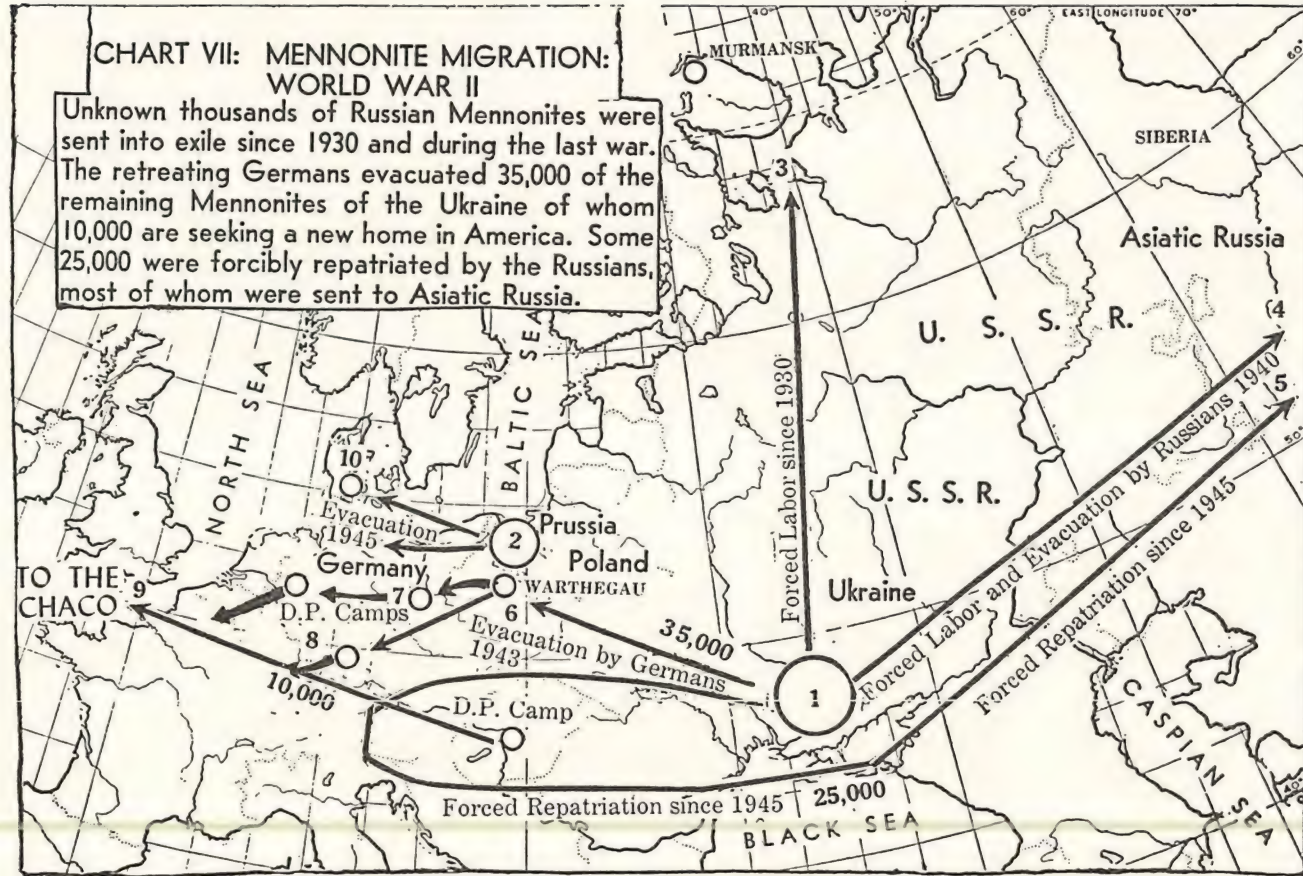
As the clouds of dictatorship and war gathered, the Mennonites in Europe were caught in an increasingly difficult position. Inevitably there was some attrition from the high standards of commitment. In Russia some individuals found it possible to accept the general basis of communism as practiced there, and a few became officials. For the vast majority, however, these years brought a series of hardships spelled out in terms of expropriation of property, famine, deportation, closing of churches, and death. The Mennonites were among the chief victims of the great liquidation of the kulaks which accompanied the First Five-Year Plan. They suffered with the rest of the people in the famine of the early thirties. Most of the men were deported during the purges of the late thirties. Almost unbelievably about 35,000 were still living in the Ukraine when the Germans advanced in 1941-43.³⁶ In Nazi Germany also some Mennonites supported Hitler and the program of National Socialism.³⁷ These persons were surprisingly tenacious in their support, even during and after the Sudetenland and Czech crises. Some were affected by the racial teachings of the Nazis, which were also widely accepted by the Mennonites of the Ukraine who accepted refuge with the Germans during the war. On the other hand, the central theme of Mennonite history ran directly athwart the theories and practices of Nazism, as most members eventually realized. The evidence presented by these conflicts, however, demonstrates the tragic deterioration of the religious motivation in some quarters. By the time of World War II we are not entitled to assume that Mennonite refugees were always refugees for conscience' sake. Here as everywhere attrition of spiritual devotion brought unhappy consequences.

During the second world war Mennonites suffered further, not so much because they were Christians but because, from time to time, they were on the wrong side. The Ukraine became once again the scene of tremendous military operations. When the Germans reached the Dnieper in 1941, the

³⁵ Fretz, *Pilgrims*, pp. 25-26; Epp, p. 239; ME, II, 261.

³⁶ ME, I, 26; II, 261.

³⁷ C. Henry Smith, *Story of the Mennonites*, p. 343; Epp, pp. 321, 323 ff.



Chortitza settlements were already "liberated." Farther east a half-million Germans, some of them Mennonites, were deported eastward by the Russians. This horde included most of the heavily German population of the Volga Autonomous Republic. The winter of 1942-43 witnessed the great Battle of Stalingrad. After that came the German retreat, in which everybody suffered terribly. The Russians deported Mennonites eastward; the Germans in their retreat sent the rest westward. A pathetic line of wagons and foot travelers crept slowly toward Poland all winter long.³⁸ Molotschna was evacuated in September, Chortitza in October. From December until February the evacuees waited, camped out or in the homes of dispossessed Poles, until they were sent on by rail. Their destination was Warthegau, where they were again housed at the expense of the Poles. Thirty or thirty-five thousand Mennonites were among the 200,000 refugees. In 1945 another movement, this time a rout, preceded the Russian drive west into Germany. Only 12,000 Mennonites were subsequently found in Allied refugee camps. Where were the rest? Where indeed?³⁹

During the war German Mennonites suffered along with the rest of the population. In the thriving community of Crefeld the Mennonite group was nearly destroyed, along with most of the rest of the city.⁴⁰ The church rebuilt, however, after the war. One of the most complete disruptions took place in old East Prussia, in the lower valley of the Vistula River, and in the city of Danzig.⁴¹ This long-standing community was obliterated. The Danzig church alone had in 1921 eleven hundred members. It was reported in 1948 that about two hundred Mennonites were left in the entire region. During the war the Poles early attacked Mennonites in old Polish Prussia. In 1943 the Germans "repatriated" 35,000 Germans to Germany, but of these the Russians later "repatriated" 23,000. In January 1945 the Russian army entered the delta region, creating a mass refugee movement before them. Very few Mennonites were left behind. At the end of March came the final episode, the Battle of Danzig, during which about two thousand Mennonites escaped by sea. But only some of them reached Denmark or western Germany; the rest drowned under air attack. Remnants found shelter in refugee camps in western Germany, in Göttingen, near Cologne, Kiel, Crefeld, Frankfurt, and Neuwied. Another large concentration of Mennonites was in Berlin, where they constituted an embarrassing presence for the Allied authori-

³⁸ ME, I, 737; II, 261; Epp, pp. 351 ff.

³⁹ Epp, p. 363, has a summary chart of the dispersion of the Russian Mennonites.

⁴⁰ ME, I, 737.

⁴¹ See *ibid.*, II, 9 ff., 12 ff., 486, 498; William I. Schreiber, *Fate of the Prussian Mennonites*; Emil Haendiges, "The Catastrophe of the West Prussian Mennonites," *Proceedings of the Fourth Mennonite World Conference*, 1948, pp. 218-26.

ties. An immediate danger was the insistence of the Russian Repatriation Commission that all Russians be returned, including Russians of German ancestry—that is, Mennonites. The latter were forced to hide from the investigators to escape forcible repatriation under the law. After considerable delay the Allies, particularly the United States, refused to honor the Russian demands.

Thus, after World War II there existed in West Germany another accumulation of the remnants of the eastern Mennonite settlements. These had to be taken care of, and few could hope for permanent settlement in Germany itself. One of the ticklish problems was whether they were *Volksdeutsche* or not, and hence whether they would be entitled to Allied help or not. German ethnic refugees were specifically excluded from provisions by UNRRA and IRO. The decision was made on the ground that the Mennonites were largely of Dutch descent—and moreover were different from the regular ethnic Germans intended by law. Thus help was forthcoming from public sources as well as private. A few were resettled in Canada, but by far the largest number went to Latin America—to Paraguay and Uruguay.

On 1 February 1947 the liner *Volendam* sailed from Bremerhaven with a load of 2,305 refugees destined for Paraguay. Their embarkation was fraught with uncertainty until the very last minute. In fact a large group from Berlin almost missed the ship. These were among the refugees given sanctuary in the Allied-occupied city surrounded by East German (Russian) territory. The problem was getting them out. Tension was running high between the western powers and Russia. Would the Russians let them through or not? It was thought they would; but just prior to train time for the ride to Bremerhaven they indicated they would not give permission. That the refugees were able to move in time to catch the ship resulted from what may be described as a combination of the wisdom of serpents and the innocence of doves. While the Mennonites prayed mightily, the Allied authorities put on a party in honor of the Russian commander, in the course of which he was prevailed upon, perhaps while slightly befuddled, to sign the exit order. With split-second timing the group was put on board and the train departed, was permitted to pass by virtue of the authorization, and reached the port of embarkation. The ship had waited long enough for them to board. These Mennonites became the founders of Neuland and Volendam in Paraguay, the former in the Chaco on land leased from the Fernheim colony, the latter along the Paraguay River, north of Rosario. Some of the migrants were delayed for eight months in Buenos Aires, waiting out another Paraguayan revolution.

A smaller contingent settled in Uruguay, where no Mennonite settlement existed before 1948. About 750 of the German camp dwellers came at the same time as the movement to Paraguay. In 1951, 430 more arrived. The Mennonite Central Committee also worked diligently to resettle about eight thousand Mennonites in Canada, from various places, between 1946 and 1954. But 710 of these were *re-resettled* from Paraguay.

When Harold Bender and David B. Wiens made a tour of inspection to Russia in 1956, they found, so far as the authorities would permit them to investigate, that all of the old Mennonite communities in the Ukraine, Crimea, Old Samara, and the Caucasus had been obliterated. On the other hand, some of the settlements east of the Volga and the Urals were intact, although everybody was in collectives. Many had been resettled in Karaganda. Most of the Mennonites of western Europe had also been disrupted, although, especially in the Netherlands, they were still active. But they had taken a terrible blow as a result of their adherence to a faith which had brought them to tribulation many times before. Although as time went on a deterioration of the primary religious motivation set in, as they became merged in the mass of suffering humanity, still the story of the Mennonites in the twentieth century is one of loyalty to the faith, even to the point of exile or death. As the *Christian Century* put it as early as 1930, referring to Russia,

It is now finally established that the root of the trouble, which produced the destruction of these farm colonies after more than 150 years of successful operation, was religious. There was a sharp conflict between the Russian government and the Mennonites over the proposal for the communization of their farms. There was also tension over the refusal of the government to recognize the conscientious objections of these people, as pacifists, to army service. But neither of these causes would have produced this tragic result without the insistence of the government on carrying its anti-religious campaign into the Mennonite communities.⁴²

The migrations of the Mennonites, therefore, exemplify in the twentieth century a continuation of the central theme which has called forth this book. Whether they wander over the earth as members of suffering yet enduring communities such as these or as individual and perhaps lonely Christians lost in the mass of migrating humanity, they all deserve a place in the story of God's pilgrim people.

⁴² *Christian Century*, XLVI (1930), 5.

Chapter 37

The Church Is There

A sample check in 1948 indicated that, of approximately ten million refugees, 5,855,000 were Roman Catholic, 3,859,000 were Protestant, and 250,000 were Jewish.¹ Elfan Rees remarks that, of twenty voluntary agencies then related to IRO, thirteen were agencies of those three religious groups. But the activities and size of the agencies bore no relation to the proportions of the problem. Thus, although the new WCC was expecting to spend a little over a million dollars in refugee work that year, one out of the six Jewish agencies had a budget of twenty-one million dollars. This disproportion of need to facility has plagued refugee work through the years. It is but one of the prices the churches pay for their inveterate habit of working separately and sometimes in competition if not in downright conflict. At the same time, given the divided character of the Christian churches today, those religious groups which have quickly and vigorously stepped forward with relief programs deserve all credit.

A. Voluntary Agencies

Over the years the number of agencies and the complexity of relationships have increased tremendously. A recent count of the constituents of the International Council of Voluntary Agencies came to seventy-one. Those listed by the United States Committee for Refugees alone numbered forty-three.² They are of all kinds—secular humanitarian groups,

¹ Elfan Rees, *Refugee Problem Today*, p. 17.

² USCR, *World Refuge Report*, 1965-66.

private foundations; denominational, interdenominational, and non-denominational organizations; national and international groups; Catholic, Protestant, Jewish; large and small. Some work in only one or a few countries; others possess a worldwide net. Some accept only fellow believers or fellow countrymen; others are totally indiscriminate. Some deal exclusively with refugees; others carry on multiple activities—educational, charitable, cultural, and missionary.

It is not our intention to attempt even a general survey of the work of all the voluntary agencies. The purpose of the present chapter is simply to reveal a second point of contact between the central theme of this book and the mass refugee movements of the twentieth century. Some of the migrants may properly be described as truly religious refugees or refugees for conscience' sake. The vast majority, however, have little connection with religion beyond the normal memberships common to other men. They are, as we have seen, primarily political and secondarily economic refugees. Religion has frequently entered into their peculiar problems as a motivating factor, but that does not make them religious refugees. Nevertheless, most of them in one way or another have come under the influence of some religious agency whose task it is to bring help to the needy. Throughout Part IV the story has repeatedly called up reference to such agencies. Taken together, they have played a very important role in the efforts to solve the mass problems. In authority and generally in resources they have taken second place to the great international bodies created by the nations, but their work has never been secondary. In many ways the activities of IRO, for example, would have been well-nigh impossible without the cooperation of the voluntary agencies, most of which have been either directly or indirectly inspired by religious groups. It is true, as Louise Holborn contends, that the church societies "tended to concentrate on helping refugees belonging to their own denominations."³ But the emphasis here lies on "tended." Naturally Christians would be more effective in caring for Christian refugees; Jews, for Jewish. Catholics would feel obliged to send help where Catholic refugees were found. Rightly refugees tended to be parceled out according to their religious affiliations. On the other hand, few instances can be found in which refugees were rejected because of religious difference. When one agency was obliged to take responsibility in the absence of others, all needy persons were cared for. In fact, in countries like India the problem was where to stop. Helping refugees frequently meant placing them in a favorable position to the exclusion of the equally needy millions who were not

³ Louise Holborn, *International Refugee Organization*, p. 146.

refugees. A small denominational family like the Mennonites pooled their resources in the Mennonite Central Committee to respond to the tremendous challenge of massive displacements of Mennonites. During the acute crisis a diversion of funds to non-Mennonite activities would have been wrong. Nowadays, however, with most of the Mennonite refugees resettled, the MCC is engaged in many charitable works quite unrelated to the denominational pattern. One would expect Roman Catholics to assume prime responsibility for Catholic refugees in Vietnam, but this does not mean that a lonely starving Protestant refugee would have been rejected unless some Protestant facility existed. All sorts of Christian groups have spent millions in service to Jewish and Arab refugees. And that is as it should be.

Various arrangements were made to facilitate the work in different areas. For example, in Germany and Austria in the 1950's the WCC undertook to care for Orthodox and non-Lutheran Protestants while the German Lutheran agency, *Hilfswerk*, accepted responsibility for ethnic Germans, most of whom were Lutheran. This made sense in view of the official distinction made between Allied refugees and German refugees.⁴ In the United States at the time of the Hungarian crisis the religious agencies dealt with Hungarians being resettled in the following proportions:⁵

National Catholic Welfare Conference	58%
Church World Service	18%
United HIAS (Jewish)	12%
Lutheran Refugee Service	4½%
International Rescue Committee	4½%
Others	3%

Those cared for by CWS were placed individually by the following groups which participated in CWS work: Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A., 1,417; Evangelical and Reformed Church, 1,001; Protestant Episcopal Church, 451; American Baptist Convention, 405; Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief, 251; Brethren Service Commission, 57; Reformed Church of America, 37; Disciples of Christ, 34; Seventh-day Adventist, 18; Congregational Christian Service Committee, 14; others, 16.

Another example of division of work is seen in 1950 statistics showing that nine out of ten refugees resettled in the United States were church sponsored, in the following groups:⁶

⁴ CWS, *Knock and It Shall Be Opened Unto You*, p. 20.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 56.

⁶ Edgar H. S. Chandler, "The History and Work of the World Council of Churches," *Integration*, VII (1960), 157.

American Joint Distribution Committee	70,000	Jews
National Catholic Welfare Conference	65,000	Roman Catholics
Church World Service/WCC	30,000	Protestants, Eastern Orthodox
National Lutheran Council/LWS	30,000	Lutherans, Protestants
Other religious agencies	5,000	Various faiths

These 200,000 were 90 percent of all refugees admitted to the United States.

One more example of participation, in this case by separate denominations, analyzes the sponsorship of Dutch Indonesian refugees under Public Law 85-892 in 1959.⁷ The Episcopalians led far in advance, followed by the Methodists, United Presbyterians, Brethren, Quakers, Congregational-Christians, and American Baptists. All were associated in CWS. The share of the three major groups is seen in the figures for sponsorships in 1955: National Catholic Welfare Conference, 16,747; Church World Service, 11,272; and National Lutheran Council, 5,621. Twenty-eight other voluntary agencies produced 12,242 sponsorships.⁸

The proportion of refugees under care of voluntary agencies is not nearly so important as what was done for them. Edgar Chandler has stated the case concisely when he explains that the following operations in care of refugees are carried on by the voluntary agencies and by no others: preparation and study of dossiers, procuring of visas, finding of sponsors, arrangements for transportation (which is sometimes, not always, provided by intergovernmental bodies like IRO or ICEM), reception on arrival, welfare services in the new country, and assistance in integration.⁹ This is the "pipeline" through which individuals are moved, without harm or distress (one hopes), to new homes. Especially important in resettlement in the United States has been provision for individual sponsors for every refugee case. Step by step the case had to be documented—assurances, verification of assurances, refugee's acceptance, medical examinations, security examinations, visas, tickets. In the whole sometimes gruesome process the agencies of the church stood between the individual refugee and the impersonal machinery of government. The voluntary agencies have excelled in treating the refugee as a person. Governments typically fail at this very point.

⁷ CWS, *Refugee Resettlement 1957-59*, p. 13.

⁸ CWS, *Knock*, p. 30.

⁹ Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, p. 246.

The survey of agencies which follows is not exhaustive, although it covers the major Christian bodies. The context of the work they have done has been the burden of the preceding chapters of Part IV.

B. An International Interdenominational Agency—The WCC Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees

Arthur Foster, veteran of the Service to Refugees of the WCC, has said that its job is to work with individual refugees in such a way that "the yesterdays will be a little softened and the tomorrows a little more hopeful."¹⁰ This is his way of emphasizing the constant concern of the Division of Inter-Church Aid and Service to Refugees (DICARWS) for people as individuals. Leslie Cooke puts the case in the form of a question: "What is our specifically Christian role, even what is our specifically churchly role in this situation?"¹¹ Concern must be expressed not only at the point of need but at the point of the right Christian action. As Jesus said that there were many widows in Israel in the days of Elijah but Elijah went to none but Zarephath, and that there were many lepers in the time of Elisha but only Naaman was healed (Luke 4:25-27), so the church must ask, not so much who shall be visited and healed, but specifically what is her task in visiting and healing. The Christian response must be in terms of evangelism, not community service, said Cooke.

These considerations have always been central to the thought of the World Council of Churches and its refugee service branch. It comes first in this outline not because of a long history but because of its broadly based representation of many Christian groups in many lands. The beginnings of international interdenominational relief go back to 1922, when, under urging of Dr. Adolf Keller, the Central European Bureau of Inter-Church Aid, with headquarters in Geneva and offices in New York, was established. The immediate antecedents were the uncertain days of 1938, when a preliminary meeting in Utrecht laid the basis for the later World Council, and another meeting of the International Missionary Council in Madras brought that body into ecumenical relationship. Thus, during the war there was only a provisional structure to attempt to face some of the greatest problems of our age. The roots of the Service to Refugees go back to these hard war years. Immediately after the war, however, the machinery was ready to function, looking toward formal organization of a World Council of Churches. This was accomplished at Amsterdam in

¹⁰ Conversation with Arthur Foster, Salzburg, 13 Sept. 1965.

¹¹ Leslie Cooke, address reported in *Ecumenical Review*, XVI (1964), 205-6.

1948, as 150 churches came together. One division of the new organization was the Service to Refugees, with headquarters in Geneva. It grew out of the long-range wartime plans for "inter-church aid," which was directed more toward rebuilding of churches when peace came. The end of the war marked the growth of service to refugees as an increasingly important part of the Department of Reconstruction and Inter-Church Aid, as it was then known. These two aspects henceforth became actual partners. The bishop of Chichester, G. K. A. Bell, was among those who responded with alacrity to the tremendous challenge, and he was active in the formative stages of the refugee service.

In the early years, between the first two General Assemblies, the work was closely connected with the efforts of UNRRA and IRO to resettle the displaced people left from the war.¹² Although IRO was specifically limited to work with Allied displaced persons, and the WCC work naturally paralleled that of IRO, never did the WCC accept a limitation to any particular group of refugees. The jockeying for position in relation to IRO is seen in the rivalry of Jewish, Roman Catholic, and Protestant agencies. This led the WCC to consult with the Lutheran World Federation and the YMCA in October 1947 about a presumed threat to Protestant participation in the work of relief. The real significance of the meeting, however, was the recognition of the need for coordination among the various Protestant agencies. This was gradually achieved, but not without difficulty. A major shift of policy came about the same time, as Rees, Visser 't Hooft, Arthur Foster, and others became convinced that resettlement rather than repatriation or relief should be the central purpose of Service to Refugees.¹³

In 1950 the efforts of the American churches through Church World Service were combined with the Service to Refugees. In that year, when Edgar H. S. Chandler was appointed director of operations, the work of the churches was effectively unified. Separate operations were continued, however, by the Lutherans and some of the smaller denominations. In this early period the chief concern was over the European refugees who were gathered in such masses in temporary camps, the chief burden of IRO. By the time of the Second Assembly of the WCC at Evanston most, although not all, of this original challenge had been met. But the growing worldwide problem had scarcely been touched. These were the years of great activity in Germany and Austria. They witnessed the establishment of an important Service to Refugees office in Salzburg, headed by Arthur

¹² A useful summary is Chandler, in *Integration*, pp. 153-61.

¹³ Timothy L. Smith, "Two Worlds, One Faith," unpublished manuscript used by kind permission of the author.

Foster, and another famous office in Athens—One Sophocles Street, in a corner building in the middle of that teeming and noisy city. In January 1951 Christopher King began working out of the latter office, which is still in operation at the same location.¹⁴ Thirteen thousand refugees were at that time on the rolls, most of them crowded into the capital itself. Later a camp was set up at Lavrion in the south. In Greece the WCC worked closely with the UNHCR. In Austria by 1951 the Protestant churches had revived sufficiently to undertake care of the Protestant refugees. Hence the WCC concentrated more, although of course not exclusively, on Orthodox refugees, who had no immediate sponsoring organizations. Reports in the press and annual reports of the Service to Refugees revealed the continuing European concern.¹⁵ Hong Kong, however, was a growing center of activity.

The work of the WCC was closely involved in the changing pattern of United States laws on acceptance of refugees for resettlement. The year the Refugee Relief Act ended brought a last-minute rush which set a new record. The Hungarian crisis presented another sudden challenge, into which the Service to Refugees jumped immediately. The personnel repeatedly took risks, legal and physical, to bring help at the time and place of greatest need. By the late 1950's much effort was expended on the hard problem of resettlement of the "hard core" of physically handicapped, aged, and sick refugees.¹⁶ The growing worldwide responsibility was revealed in the little book by Leslie Cooke, *The Church Is There*, published in 1957. Beginning with the dramatic Hungarian crisis, the author pointed out that the interest of the WCC finds expression everywhere in the world, in Pakistan and Hong Kong, Malaya, Palestine, and Egypt—wherever need arises. *Diakonia* as manifested in the Service to Refugees had become worldwide in fact.

By the 1960's the pattern had again shifted. Refugees being resettled by the agency came now from the Netherlands (Indonesian Dutch), Greece, and Hong Kong.¹⁷ The chief international agency was now ICEM, which in 1960 moved its millionth migrant.¹⁸ The budget of DICARWS was running several million dollars a year—in 1962, \$10,000,000, much of it from intergovernmental bodies but \$1,200,000 contributed directly by

¹⁴ Chandler, *High Tower*, pp. 78 ff.

¹⁵ E.g., *Christian Century*, 14 Mar. 1951, p. 345; 18 Nov. 1953, p. 1336; and *Service to Refugees in 1953*.

¹⁶ See *Inter-Church Aid in 1957—Year End Report*, esp. pp. 6, 24, 27–28, 311. Also Chandler, in *Integration*, pp. 159–60.

¹⁷ Ecumenical Press Service, 13 Jan. 1961.

¹⁸ WCC, *Migration Newsletter*, July 1960.

the member churches.¹⁹ This was money specifically for refugee work. Africa was now within the circle of WCC refugee concern, as revealed by provision for the planting of 21,000,000 trees in Algeria. New refugees were presenting new problems in the Congo and other regions of equatorial Africa.

Through all of these changing times DICARWS continued to adapt to the new needs.²⁰ My interviews with such representatives on the field as Arthur Foster in Salzburg, Wallace Bell in Athens, John Bazalgette in Istanbul, and Ruth Black in Beirut revealed a constantly varying pattern of activity, growing in some areas and diminishing in others, but never ending. In 1964 DICARWS put \$160,000 into help for Tibetan refugees, especially for control of tuberculosis and for scholarships for youth.²¹ It was one of the participants in the Bengal Refugee Service, which undertook the massive relocation of the refugees from the Sealdah Railway Station in Calcutta.²² The complex problems attending this resettlement were explained by P. C. Joseph, who in 1965 inherited the remnants of the problem.²³ The backward status of the people, the lack of suitable land, the universal poverty of the Indian masses, administrative difficulties—all conspired to make the problem insoluble. But it was solved.

Farther east, in Hong Kong, Lilli Neugebauer was still working toward resettlement of Russian Orthodox refugees from China.²⁴ The pipeline was still flowing with a trickle from China, where some Orthodox were still living, through Hong Kong, where a small number were not yet resettled. She was working in Hong Kong when the Russians were first resettled in Brazil. Some of the current group wished to settle also in Brazil, or the United States, but were less enthusiastic about Australia, which was open to them. Across town was the busy Practical Training Centre of the Churches, established by the Christian Welfare and Relief Council of Hong Kong, related to the World Council of Churches. Here boys were learning precious skills which might mean the difference between a meaningful and a hopeless life. Thus, around the world in the 1960's DICARWS was busy with projects and services adapted to the needs of the time, always under

¹⁹ *Many Churches One Service*, pp. 3, 9. Similar material in *Service in Unity and Rooted in Love*.

²⁰ See items in DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Jan. 1964, p. 13; Mar. 1964, p. 10; Apr. 1964, p. 5; Oct. 1964, p. 13; Jan. 1965, p. 8; Mar. 1965, p. 12.

²¹ Ecumenical Press Service, 9 July 1964.

²² DICARWS, *Newsletter*, Mar. 1964, p. 15; Apr. 1964, p. 12; June 1964, p. 10.

²³ Interview, Calcutta, 2 Nov. 1965.

²⁴ Interview, Hong Kong, 11 Nov. 1965.

the compulsion and direction of a Christian perspective which saw the problems not solely from the viewpoint of material need but from the viewpoint of individual spiritual need.

In 1961 a new direction was given the problem of refugees as it was brought into relation to the broader problem of migration. Under the direction of B. Ch. Sjollema, who had been appointed staff consultant for migration, a World Conference on Problems of International Migration and the Responsibility of the Churches was held at Leysin, Switzerland, 11-6 June 1961.²⁵ This wider perspective had been raised in 1956 at the annual meeting of DICARWS at Les Rasses, Switzerland. There it was recognized that refugee problems were part of migration problems, and that the churches had an interest in both:

Certain problems of migration, particularly the migration of refugees and of other groups, such as separated families and the economically underprivileged, are a continuing Christian concern although the major responsibility must rest with the international and national authorities. To the extent that migration is a problem that can only be solved by interdenominational and international action, it falls clearly within the concern of the ecumenical movement.²⁶

From this time on, migration constituted a part of the concern of DICARWS and the WCC generally, as was reflected in the published annual reports.

The concern was also reflected in a First Asian Consultation on Inter-Church Aid, sponsored jointly by DICARWS and the East Asia Christian Council, held at Hong Kong 17-23 October, 1963.²⁷ This set the pattern for regional reviews outside the traditional handling of European refugees. Another evidence of far-ranging interest is the "Africa Survey" prepared by Z. K. Matthews.²⁸ This document discussed not only refugees but political and social aspects of the ferment and disruption which attended the rise of the new nations.

That DICARWS had come a long way from the emergency beginnings in and after World War II is indicated by the bulk and extent of the *Service Programme and List of Projects* for 1965. It required 411 pages to present the various programs and projects in which the division wished to interest the member churches. The basic budget of DICARWS, for both administration and action programs, came to something over a

²⁵ See WCC, *In a Strange Land*.

²⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 9, quoting from the report of the meeting.

²⁷ See the impressive mimeographed report, "Consultation Digest, A Summary of Reports and Addresses."

²⁸ Z. K. Matthews and Sir Hugh Foot, "Africa Survey."

million and a half dollars. The additional projects, recommended but not guaranteed, brought the total to more than \$18,743,000. Experience indicated that the churches would support by no means all of these projects. In 1965 specifically refugee projects represented a minority of the whole list: \$1,775,000 total, of which the largest amount was designated for the Near East (\$739,000), followed by Greece (\$332,500). Although projects in Austria came to nearly \$133,000, requests for Germany were only \$37,000. Support of the many programs of the NECCCRW (Near East) amounted to \$423,000. The largest single project was Wadi Zerka Agricultural Project (\$163,000), followed by a housing project for refugee farmers in Greece \$100,000). The sum of \$160,000 was asked for help for Tibetan refugees, and \$120,000 for resettlement of Russian refugees from China. Thus DICARWS of WCC has become a major operator in the field of service to refugees at the same time that its other concerns have broadened in the directions of church building, migration, etc.²⁹

C. Interdenominational Agencies in Separate Countries

A variety of organizations originate or operate exclusively or chiefly in individual states. Some, like the American Church World Service (CWS), are based financially and administratively in the United States but carry on operations around the world, both independently and in cooperation with other agencies. Others, like the NECCCRW, derive most of their funds and certain of their personnel from overseas but devote their efforts to refugee work in a specific area, in this case the nations surrounding Israel. Some are closely related to international agencies; others are more or less independent. A selected few are discussed here by way of illustration, with emphasis on Church World Service, one of the largest operations maintained by the relatively strong American Protestant churches.

One of the early forms of interdenominational relief by the American Protestant churches was China Famine Relief (later Church Committee for China Relief), set up in 1927 to facilitate the transmission of funds for help to sufferers in the periodic Yellow River floods. During the 1930's the American churches also responded to the troubles arising from the growing threat of dictatorship in Europe. The Committee for

²⁹ For further recent information on DICARWS see WCC, *Newsletter*, Feb. 1965, 5-8.

Christian German Refugees (later the American Committee for Christian Refugees) was organized in 1934 in cooperation with the Federal Council of Churches. Another organization, the Committee for Foreign Relief Appeals, formed by the Foreign Missions Conference of North America and the Federal Council of Churches, was active in the years before World War II. These two bodies cooperated in further activities in the Church Committee for Overseas Relief and Reconstruction (1943). Finally, on 1 May 1946 Church World Service was formed, with a Department of Displaced Persons. Thus the American churches were in a position to engage in cooperative work when admission of refugees under the Truman directive of 1945 became possible through the principle of unused immigration quotas. From that time on, CWS has been active in relief and resettlement of refugees, whether as agent for transportation of surplus food and used clothing, as office for preparation of corporate affidavits, individual assurances, and health and security documents, or as host for new refugees arriving for resettlement in the United States. Even as the war ended, CWS was busy resettling a group of refugees from Italy through Camp Oswego, New York, taking over the European refugees under the care of the American Committee for Christian Refugees (German), and helping a hundred White Russians in Shanghai.³⁰

The story of CWS is largely an account of its operations under the various international organizations, particularly IRO, and the successive laws of the United States whereby refugees were admitted. CWS resettled 62,000 persons under the Displaced Persons Act, 1948, out of a total of 393,500, and faced the many difficulties of the complicated Refugee Relief Act of 1953.³¹ The first visa issued was dated 4 December 1953. The first refugee sponsored by CWS arrived 22 September 1954. The months between were filled with worrisome and frustrating details of administration, investigation, and documentation.

As early as 1950 CWS officials realized that some of the operational program was duplicating efforts of the WCC Service to Refugees. An arrangement was sensibly made which turned over to WCC all operations of CWS in Europe. Henceforth CWS was principally a reception and resettlement agent in the United States. In another area, the Near East, the work of CWS has been closely integrated with the activities of Lutheran World Federation World Service.³² Especially in the collection

³⁰ Benson Y. Landis, *Protestant Experience*, p. 25. See also Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, pp. 226-29.

³¹ CWS, *Knock*, pp. 13-14. This covers the period 1953-57, followed by *Refugee Resettlement 1957-59*.

³² *Christian Century*, 24 Feb. 1954, pp. 230-31.

of used clothing and supplies these two cooperated. In the mid-1950's refugees received by CWS landed from voyage after voyage of the *General Langfitt*, the refugee ship which between July 1955 and April 1957 made twenty-six trips. Others arrived by plane. In December 1955, for example, CWS refugees came on thirty-seven plane flights. Dramatic scenes took place at Pier 86, Brooklyn Army Base, Hoboken, and Idlewild Field.

CWS continued to act as a channel for food and clothing and supplies to all corners of the world. The Surplus Commodities Program and the Christian Rural Overseas Program (CROP) helped bring direct survival relief from the wealth of America. The food and clothing appeared in Korea and in Hong Kong, wherever the need was great. Of course it represented only part of a great outpouring, which arrived through various agencies, such as the separate denominational programs of the Brethren and the Catholics, or through CARE. In 1965 CWS money was going into the Shuang Yuan Christian Service Center in Taipei, maintained by the Taiwan Christian Service in the poorest slum district of the capital. This operation is another example of cooperation with LWF/WS, which also supplies funds. My visit to the center in 1965 revealed a small but hard-working staff struggling against monumental odds in poor quarters with inadequate equipment. Altogether, in 1965 CWS was distributing \$32,752,000 worth of supplies and \$12,239,000 in cash.³³

Relief operations, particularly on an interdenominational basis, were being reassessed, not necessarily agonizingly, in the mid-sixties. The period of acute need was finally, in most areas, over. Although other acute needs would no doubt develop soon enough, separate organizations for the exclusive administration of relief, refugee or other, appeared to have come to a turning point. This is well illustrated by the Foreword written by Hugh D. Farley for the *Annual Report* of CWS, 1964. Announcing that this would be the last CWS report, he went on to explain:

This is the last separate annual report, at least for the foreseeable future, about the work of Church World Service as distinct from other activities of the American churches abroad through the Division of Overseas Ministries.

In perspective, the historical development of the service function reflects the flexibility of the church as it responds to the needs of the world. For, a hundred years ago, and earlier, service activities as we have now come to identify them (relief, refugee care, material aid, technical assistance, service projects, etc.) were

³³ USCR, *World Refugee Report, 1965-66*, p. 24. See details in *Annual Report, 1964*. List of cooperating agencies in *World Refugee Report, 1968*, p. 44.

performed by the missions as incidental to their responsibilities. In World War II, however, and immediately thereafter, the pressure of need in a war-torn world, with people uprooted and in distress everywhere, clearly demanded special attention beyond the capabilities and resources of missions. Accordingly, and without any particular theology, the churches quite naturally established a separate and relatively autonomous organization to meet these needs—Church World Service.

In recent years, Church World Service has become more closely integrated into the life of the National Council of Churches and more closely related to the work of the World Council of Churches. The integration is now complete as it finds its new place within the framework of the total range of ministries which the American churches perform abroad.

If there should be, as is quite likely, additional massive crises in the world producing great numbers of people in acute distress, the churches would certainly once again design a special functional structure to meet these needs. Indeed, the particular virtue of the service concept is that it demands a relatively unself-conscious response to a human condition of distress, without primary regard for structure, organization, or even for the church itself. In this sense, service is truly evangelical, in the pattern of Christ's response to those who happened in his way and asked his help.

Consolidation and break-through. The history of human organization, church, state, or other enterprise, constitutes a perpetual tension and movement from one to the other. The consolidation of Division of Foreign Missions and Church World Service will justify itself as new patterns of response to the world emerge.

Thus CWS was entering a new era in which relief of suffering, including service to refugees, would become once again, as it originally had been, and in principle properly should be, one aspect of the total ministry of the Christian church, here organized as the Division of Overseas Ministries.

A similar interdenominational agency on a national base is the Refugee Service of the British Council of Churches. Between 1937 and 1942, under encouragement from Archbishop William Temple, it came into being as an organization for cooperation between the Church of England and the Free Churches. Its membership is practically the same as the British membership of the WCC. In addition are such groups as the Salvation Army, the Society of Friends, a few smaller churches, Unitarians, and the YMCA and YWCA. The Refugee Service grew out of wartime activities, especially the Famine Relief Committee, of which Bishop G. K. A. Bell, friend of Berggrav and Bonhoeffer, was chairman. On a somewhat smaller scale and more selectively, the British Refugee Service has extended help similar to that of CWS. Specific projects have been favored, like the Austrian old people's home owned and operated by the Austrian

Methodist church, in which eighteen aged refugees from Russia were placed in 1961.³⁴

Many other forms of interdenominational cooperation might be cited. One example is the provision at Beckhof settlement for refugees near Bielefeld, West Germany, of an interdenominational chapel for Roman Catholics, Protestants, and Orthodox. This was arranged during World Refugee Year by the Evangelical Church of Westphalia, the Red Cross, Caritas, and other groups.³⁵ The Near East Christian Council Committee for Refugees is another example.³⁶ Here the critical situation and the actual work came before formal organization. The development of the mass refugee problem in Palestine was so sudden that what was to be done had to be done without wasting any time on mere organization. That stage came in 1951 when the Beirut Conference provided for a cooperative refugee committee. In the original crisis certain individuals who happened to be there got together to make an appeal to the organizing assembly of the WCC in Amsterdam. Others began projects on a shoestring, like the camp program started in the Aqabet Jaber Refugee Camp in Jericho by Labib Nasir, a program which grew into the vigorous Jerusalem Jordan YMCA. Winifred Coates of the Church Missionary Society went to work in the Zerka refugee camp in Jordan. When the Committee for Refugee Work was established, procedures were regularized, overlapping was cut down, efficiency was improved, and more systematic deployment of relief forces became possible. In this operation A. Willard Jones, formerly of the American Friends Mission in Palestine, became a guiding, even dominant, figure. In the organizing work of the first Beirut Conference Giora Wysner, then representing the International Missionary Council, was active. The Beirut Conference made clear the importance of local or regional cooperative organization for refugee work.³⁷ The Conference Statement of that early day insisted that the only proper solution of the mass Arab refugee problem would involve a solution of the political differences between Israel and her Arab neighbors and would include provision for return of *some* to their old homes, as well as compensation for loss of property. "Yet, while we recognize the basic right of all refugees to their own homes and property, nevertheless a careful appraisal of the total situation has compelled us to conclude, however, that many Palestinian refugees will have to settle in

³⁴ *Ecumenical Press Service*, 20 Oct. 1961.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, 21 Sept. 1962.

³⁶ See Christina H. Jones, *Ten Years of Service; Report from Beirut*; NECCCRW *Annual Report 1960*; mimeographed minutes of NECCCRW meetings for details.

³⁷ Cf. address by Nabih Amin Faris printed in *Report from Beirut*, pp. 30-32.

new homes.”³⁸ In a lengthy series of recommendations the conference suggested, among other things, a more thorough coordination in a central refugee committee. When formed, this committee, which was really the tail of the dog, became the principal body of the NECC, handling very large sums of money over the years. The situation led CWS, as a result of a careful study in 1962, to recommend simplification of structure and finances of the committee, together with a definition of final fiscal responsibility in the agencies which provided most of the funds, especially DICARWS.³⁹ In theory the NECCCRW was one of several voluntary agencies gathered into the Central Coordinating Committee of Voluntary Agencies, the others representing such interested parties as the LWF, the Pontifical Mission, Congregationalists and Mennonites, the Y’s, and so forth. Partly owing to lack of funds this overall body never functioned very effectively and had to depend on the services of the executive secretary of NECCCRW. In 1964 most of the funds to defray about \$400,000 in operational costs came from CWS (about half of the total), the Oxford Committee for Famine Relief, the British Council of Churches, and Bread for the World (Germany). Gradually the total budget was being reduced. When I visited in 1965 a many-sided and effective work was being carried on among mainly Moslem refugees in a spirit of Christian service, under leadership of J. Richard Butler, successor to Willard Jones. NECCCRW was laboring alongside the Y’s and LWF and MCC to help all the refugees and encourage especially the younger ones to move toward self-reliance based on education and technical skills.

In another part of the world other Christian councils have been engaged in similar work with refugees, although not nearly so heavily committed. Both the West Pakistan Christian Council and the National Christian Council of India have supported various projects of aid to refugees. In these cases, however, the enormity of the problem, which is submerged under the even greater dilemma of universal poverty and rising population, prevents any attempt on the part of the weak Christian bodies to enter into the whole. Rather the work has been principally among Christian refugees where they appear and in selected projects tailored to the ability of the participating groups. An excellent job is done in Karachi itself by the YWCA, which has been concerned especially with women and children in the new towns, largely refugee in origin, of Korangi and North Karachi. Although most of the original refugees have been resettled after a fashion, difficulties remain. The Christian

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

³⁹ Frank L. Hutchison, *Refugees from Palestine*, pp. 87, 93-94.

Council itself has been engaged in various types of rural projects, which are partly related to settlements of refugees. But here as elsewhere in the Asian continent the problems of refugees merge into the problems of poverty and population.⁴⁰ That a dilemma continued is indicated by the following comments in the *Annual Report* of the West Pakistan Christian Council for 1964, based on a survey conducted in 1959 of "shelterless persons":

It was found, that more than 527,000 persons belonged to this category, defined as "persons who live on pavements, in juggies and other improvised tenements." More than half of these people live in juggies, which on an average measure 4 by 5 yards and house 4-5 persons each. 85% of these shelterless persons stated to have come from India at the time of partition or shortly thereafter. This means, that 12 years after partition there were still hundreds of thousands of people in Karachi, who had not found a place to settle down yet. Compared with the total population of Karachi, the conclusion is justified, that around 50% of the Karachites had come to this city as refugees and that half of them were still without shelter in 1959.⁴¹

One of the most active Christian agencies in Hong Kong is the Hong Kong Christian Welfare and Relief Council. From its beginning in 1955 it has had among its many interests the welfare of refugees in that crowded international port and crown colony. The ten years of its history witnessed a revolutionary change in the complexion of the community. Population burgeoned, with continuous inflow of refugees from mainland China. The purpose of the CWRC was to provide a "meeting place" of the major Protestant groups engaged in welfare work and to serve as agent for assistance from outside. In addition it has in its own name carried on special projects. Altogether its expenditures rose to \$1,363,000 in 1964.⁴² In 1964 it was doing much the same work as in 1955, only in larger measure. A relatively small portion of the total work had to do directly with refugees, but most of it affected them indirectly. Two sources of strength have continued to be the friendly, co-operative attitude of the Hong Kong government, which has entered into an almost unique relationship with the voluntary agencies, and the continuing support of the WCC and the British Council of Churches.

The years 1960 and 1961 were peak years. Receipts for 1964 were about

⁴⁰ *Annual Report* of West Pakistan Christian Council, 1964, pp. 3, 4, 5, 7-9. War in 1965 interfered with a visit to Pakistan that I had planned.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁴² Hong Kong CWRC *Annual Report*, 1964, p. 2, and several interviews in Nov. 1965 with Paul R. Webb, executive secretary, who was very helpful.

half those for 1961. The nature of the work, almost all of which affects refugees as well as nonrefugees, is indicated by the list in the *Annual Report*, from which a selection follows: scholarships and other help for college students, disaster relief, youth centers, the Hong Kong Children's Meals Society, the Junk Bay Medical Relief Council, the Practical Training Centre of the Churches and other schools, help for drug addicts, rural resettlement, and various denominationally supported activities.

In Korea the inclusive organization is the Korean National Council of Churches, which oversees the work of Korea Church World Service. Aid has come regularly from the Anglo-Saxon countries plus Germany, Sweden, and Switzerland. The American churches have always had the needs and interests of Korean Christians in first concern. In Korea the churches and the military have been in close cooperation ever since the Korean War. This has raised problems periodically, but both have benefited. In Korea as in Hong Kong it is impractical if not impossible to make a clear distinction between refugee and needy resident. People can starve whether at home or not. Much of the huge burden of support, however, has come from the mass movement of refugees southward. One of the special needs in Korea is the care of hordes of orphans and children without effective family support. Much of the effort has been expended in homes, education, and physical care of these youngest victims of violence. This aspect is another reflection of the generally low standard of living. If families are unable to support their children, they will prefer to send them to these homes rather than into begging or prostitution.

Our survey by no means covers all the many interdenominational agencies found in one country or another, at either the point of need or the point of response. But it does give an indication of the net of Christian activity.

D. Denominational Agencies

Although a "denominational" agency, the welfare instrument of the Roman Catholic church looms very large indeed in the panorama of Christian service organizations. None is more highly organized, and none is more thoroughly international in its manifold operations. Extremely varied activities are brought together in the Catholic Relief Services of the National Catholic Welfare Council in the United States. Among them is a notable service to refugees. As with most denominational agencies, help is offered regardless of creed or other difference, but naturally most of the recipients are Roman Catholics. Yet much aid is

available to such non-Catholic areas as Jordan and India. It is instructive, however, to contrast the expenditure of about three million dollars in all-Moslem Jordan with almost thirteen million in strongly Catholic Lebanon.⁴³

During the first years the operation was not highly systematized. The National Catholic Welfare Conference came into being as an organization of the American bishops in 1922, in the midst of an intramural dispute over the relation of such a body to the diocesan authority of the bishops. Not until 1943 was an operational agency developed, under the name of War Relief Services. This in turn in 1955 became Catholic Relief Services. Two churchmen were particularly notable in the development of this sprawling agency—Monsignor Patrick A. O'Boyle, who became its leader when it was nothing but a paper plan and remained until he was replaced in 1947 by Monsignor Edward W. Swanstrom. Like most of the voluntary agencies based in the United States, CRS/NCWC followed generally the pattern of legislation under which it carried on its operations—that is, the Truman directive, Displaced Persons Act, Refugee Relief Act, Hungarian Emergency Program, and subsequent public laws. While the second world war was still going on, CRS was busy helping thousands of Polish refugees in Europe and in scattered settlements around the world.⁴⁴ After the war there began the long series of clothing and food campaigns by which American Catholics supplemented government surplus supplies. Notable were the Thanksgiving clothing collections which began in 1950. The Catholic Relief Services secured and sent abroad enormous quantities of government surplus commodities, especially food. Not all, of course, went to refugees. Much went for relief in the immediate postwar years of the hungry people of Italy and France. But relief programs began in the Philippines and Japan in 1945, in China in 1946, and in Korea in 1947. CRS has engaged over the years in both refugee relief and resettlement, working much as other voluntary agencies have. All of them have operated within the same framework of public law.

During the period of IRO the CRS and other agencies of the Roman Catholic church joined in the National Catholic Resettlement Council, one of those huge bureaucracies for which Roman Catholicism has a peculiar genius. In it were Catholic Charities, National Catholic Rural

⁴³ Chart in Edward M. Kinney, "Twenty Years of American Catholic Overseas Aid," reprinted from *The Catholic Market*, Jan. 1964.

⁴⁴ Edmund E. Cummings, "World-Wide Assistance to Refugees for the Period 1943-1961," mimeographed article supplied through the courtesy of the author.

Life Conference, National Council of Catholic Women, National Catholic Women's Union, National Council of Catholic Men, Catholic Committee for Refugees, and the Department of Immigration of the NCWC. In addition there were many nationality organizations such as the American Committee on Italian Migration, American Relief for Poland, American Sudeten Association, Catholic Hungarian League, Croatian Refugee Committee, Estonian Aid, Latvian Relief, and League of Catholic Slovenian Americans. The purpose of this catchall institution was to inform the public about the refugee problem, to support proper legislation, to survey job opportunities, to provide affidavits and organize sponsorships, and to follow up in resettlement. Emigration offices were maintained in many European countries as well as Hong Kong, Jordan, Lebanon, Tunisia, and Trieste. Like CWS, CRS provided dockside and airport reception facilities. The diocesan structure aided the processes of integration.

By far the largest number were brought into the United States in the time of IRO and the Displaced Persons Act—140,000. Altogether, between 1945 and 1959, over 228,000 persons had been resettled in this country. One writer has written, of this significant aspect of the total work of CRS,

Five and one-half million tons of relief supplies and twenty years ago, the Administrative Board of Bishops founded Catholic Relief Services—NCWC to represent American Catholic compassion and concern for war sufferers and the needy of other lands. Today, two decades and one and one-quarter billion dollars of relief supplies later, the official agency of the Bishops' Fund has become the largest voluntary organization of its kind in the history of non-governmental foreign aid.⁴⁵

One can overlook the boasting in admiration of a tremendously effective institution which has brought succor and hope to millions around the world. If only a relatively small part of this work was directed specifically to refugees, the portion is still noteworthy.

In recent years, a more significant share of relief work has been carried by non-American Catholic groups, such as Misereor, the German Bishops' Fund, Secour Catholique, Caritas in Austria, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Switzerland, and Catholic Women's Leagues of Canada and Great Britain. In Germany the old Bonifatius Verein went back to the early twentieth century and was revived after World War II. In the 1930's

⁴⁵ Kinney, beginning of article.

German Caritas, with headquarters in Freiburg, had 600,000 members but was destroyed by the Nazis and World War II and had to be rebuilt.

The World Service of the Lutheran World Federation had several antecedents in the sixty-three churches which have come together for cooperative enterprise in that body. Even in a Germany in ruins the new Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands could organize a *Hilfswerk* in 1945 which had a will and plenty to do—everything except funds. With headquarters in Stuttgart it began an impressive growth in service to European refugees, representing most of the German Protestant groups. In the late 1950's *Hilfswerk* and the older *Innere Mission* united. *Hilfswerk* brought a new and wider concept of social service, going beyond mere poor and sick relief to the more basic problems of society and involving laymen.⁴⁶ Along with rescuing the refugees this German agency sought to rebuild the destroyed churches.

But the beginnings of *united* Lutheran effort came with the organization of the Lutheran World Federation, 1 July 1947. It was a much more effective body than its predecessor, the Lutheran World Convention. From that time on, the history of world Lutheranism was to be told in relation to the great assemblies, first in Lund, then Hannover in 1952, Minneapolis in 1957, and Helsinki in 1963. In and through the history of the LWF is woven the work of the Department of World Service, which has become one of the major Protestant agencies in service to refugees. On the one hand, the Lutherans have carried on an independent program of their own, serving sometimes their own brethren, as Lutheran refugees in Europe right after the war, but also sometimes people far removed from Lutheranism—from Christianity for that matter. On the other hand, they have frequently embarked on cooperative enterprises with different agencies.

One characteristic of Lutheran World Service has been its ready adaptability to new conditions. At the beginning the central problem was European refugees, many of them Lutheran. Relief materials were gathered and rushed to the camps. LWF/WS was involved, along with the other agencies, in the complicated work of resettlement. With the recovery of Europe, however, and the decline of the flow of refugees, it developed a new Church Referral Service, seeking to bring migrant Lutherans into contact with appropriate Lutheran churches. The early emphasis on rebuilding of churches gave way to church improvement and extension. The decline of the problem of Europe brought an increase

⁴⁶ Kenneth Scott Latourette, *Christianity in a Revolutionary Age*, Vol. IV: *Twentieth Century in Europe*, p. 273.

in attention to the rest of the world. This is all revealed in the changes in structure of the department.⁴⁷ Thus from 1952 to 1956 almost 32,000 people were resettled or helped in resettlement; between 1957 and 1962 only 9,300 were similarly moved. The Church Referral Service grew to balance the decline. In 1956 LWS had a staff of fifty-six in Europe; in 1962, nineteen. But in the same period the Hong Kong and Jordan staffs grew from 556 to 705. Relief supplies to Europe have almost disappeared, whereas those to the Orient and Africa more than tripled between 1957 and 1962.

Much of the work of LWS has traditionally been with the various Lutheran churches of Europe in their times of need. But it has always recognized that most of the really needy people aren't Christians at all. LWS has tended to concentrate on certain areas of need rather than trying to cover the earth with help. One favored spot is the Near East with its perennial Arab refugees. In this hopeless situation LWS has tried to bring hope, at least for the younger people, with a series of schools and vocational training centers. North of Jerusalem is a shining new vocational school well equipped for teaching useful mechanical skills. A visit in 1965 convinced me that here was one of the best-planned enterprises in any church's world service.⁴⁸ With a capacity of 120 the school is serving a desperate need. It well justifies the departure from LWS reluctance to become "institutionalized." In the Jerusalem area too is the fine Auguste Victoria Hospital on the Mount of Olives, which also houses, for the time being, the elementary school for blind boys. Political controversy between Arabs and Jews has interfered with some much needed improvements. Another favored region is Hong Kong, where again LWS has a strong vocational school, opened in 1957, with new quarters in 1963 capable of training a thousand youths per year. Other work has included relief and medical care. The Fanling Hospital is only the most impressive of several services.

The most recent special concern of LWS is Africa, scene of some of the most violent refugee movements. Those Watusi who fled from Ruanda in 1959 and after to Burundi, Uganda, Tanzania, and Congo, created a sudden crisis in the areas of refuge, which had little or no facilities to give them succor. Especially in Tanzania has LWS, in cooperation with UNHCR, established camps and facilities, action accomplished through Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service, which has helped not only the

⁴⁷ See LWF, *Report 1957-1963*, pp. 6-9.

⁴⁸ Inspection and interview with Laimons P. Pauvuls, Jerusalem, 16 Oct. 1965.

Watusi but also three thousand Kikuyus from Kenya and others.⁴⁹ More recently the Christian Refugee Service has undertaken care of ten thousand refugees from Mozambique.

Some of the most useful projects have been undertaken jointly with other agencies. The Bengal Refugee Service involved the WCC and the National Christian Council of India. The Christian Committee for Service in Algeria brought several groups together. For the Tibetan refugees LWS has worked with the World's YMCA. In this way the denominational agency has successfully taken on an ecumenical perspective enabling it to work well in most cases with DICARWS and WCC. Like CWS and NCWC, LWF/WS had its counterparts in other countries, especially in Europe after recovery from World War II. Mention has already been made of *Hilfswerk*, which was born along with the Evangelische Kirche Deutschlands at the Treysa Conference in 1945. Another German enterprise was *Brot für die Welt* ("Bread for the World"). The Lutheran states of Scandinavia maintained relief services throughout, like the Swedish *Lutherhjälpen*. The Danish National Refugee Committee was reported in 1960 as giving funds for the resettlement of eighty-two aged refugees from Hong Kong.⁵⁰ But the times do change. Symbolic of the change is the closing in 1964 of the Stuttgart office of Lutheran World Service, which had been headquarters for the vigorous program of service to displaced persons in Europe following World War II and had taken leadership in helping with the Hungarian refugee crisis. Stuttgart—and Europe—was no longer the center of the refugee problem. Another way of saying this is that Christian leaders with a Europe-oriented outlook were finally able to see the worldwide dimensions of a refugee problem which had been there all along.

Many other churches have carried on extensive refugee relief. The United Methodist Church has made an impressive record, if only because its size in the United States gives it considerable resources. The major part of its work, however, has been devoted to cooperative activities with the ecumenical agencies, CWS and DICARWS. For this purpose and for administration of special Methodist activities the Methodist Committee for Overseas Relief was set up in 1940 by the General Conference. The conference had designated 2 June as a day of fasting and sharing in the face of worldwide need occasioned by the war. An offering taken that day was to go toward the relief of suffering anywhere by anyone. Thus

⁴⁹ Edwin Eggins, *Seeking to Serve*, pp. 28–35.

⁵⁰ Ecumenical Press Service, 18 Nov. 1960.

the early role of MCOR was to make available direct relief from funds derived in large part from special offerings, and to coordinate appeals from missions all around the world. It was intended to be a temporary affair during "the period of critical human need"—a period which lasted rather longer than anticipated. If ever that need disappears, MCOR can die. For these reasons it never became a large institution with extended staff, has never maintained permanent foreign offices for administration of relief programs independent of ecumenical efforts. It has remained small and therefore supple, able to respond quickly to emergencies.

The cooperative nature of MCOR is revealed in its disbursement of funds. In fiscal 1963-64, \$1,610,000 was spent. Of this \$812,000 or about 50 percent went to non-Methodist projects and considerably less to Methodist projects. The refugee settlement program of MCOR cost \$29,000. The major effort, therefore, goes into the interdenominational projects supported by DICARWS and CWS, such as worldwide resettlement of refugees, relief through CWS agencies, distribution of surplus government food through Share Our Surplus (also Meals for Millions, Heifer Project, and Christian Rural Overseas Program), clothing projects, and many others. Interestingly, the income of MCOR is derived not from World Service apportionments (which direct large funds into other Methodist service projects also affecting refugees) but from the freewill offerings which go under the names One Great Hour of Sharing, Fellowship of Suffering and Service, and Advance Specials. The specifically Methodist operations are well illustrated by the three housing projects in Hong Kong—Wesley Village, Asbury Village, and Epworth Village (in which the English Methodists participate). These low-cost structures for Chinese refugees and other needy persons supplement the large developments of the government. Along with many other churches Methodists support the rooftop school plan whereby the voluntary agencies can cooperate with the government in handling the problem. On Taiwan another Methodist project is the new Plummer Estate Village near Kaohsiung, completed in 1964.⁵¹ Now called Good News Village, it provides homes for ninety refugee families from mainland China, plus twenty-one Taiwanese families. From the inception of MCOR, Gaither Warfield has been the guiding hand in directly resettling over seventeen thousand persons in the United States, until his retirement in 1968.

One of the more effective programs of refugee relief has been the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC). Its origin was somewhat dif-

⁵¹ MCOR, *Bulletin*, no. 26, Oct. 1963; *World Outlook*, Jan. 1965.

ferent from that of most of the voluntary agencies.⁵² It grew out of the immediate distress of the Russian Mennonites in and after the Revolution of 1917. By 1920 it was apparent that they were caught in an upheaval of major proportions and that life as Mennonites in Russia would be difficult if not impossible. A Russian Mennonite study commission visited the United States in 1920, as narrated in the previous chapter. The various churches responded with efforts to help their Russian fellow believers in their immediate trouble and to open paths for their resettlement of three Mennonites sent to investigate the problem that year, one stayed to organize work in Constantinople, one was killed in Russia, and the third was forced out. A Central Committee was formed at meetings in Elkhart, Indiana, in July 1920 and in Chicago in September. Thus the entire purpose of the MCC in its early years was relief of the Russian Mennonites, a task actively continued until 1925 and closed down only in 1927.

After the Russian relief program MCC became quiescent, although some relief work continued. Suddenly, in 1929, the Russian Mennonites were in crisis again, as thousands poured into Moscow, and then to Germany. By cable MCC learned that six thousand were homeless in Germany. Thus a new project was developed, the Paraguay resettlement. During World War II MCC did what could be done under the disruption of war. But after 1945 relief was renewed on a large scale, in cooperation with other agencies. From 1946 MCC had a representative in Berlin who worked with the rapidly growing Berlin Mennonite congregation. From 1952 *Mennoheim* has been maintained as a hospice for refugee transients.⁵³ The decline of European crises encouraged MCC to expand its activities on other continents. Work which began in Jordan for Arab refugees in 1950 was still going on when the author visited Jerusalem in 1965. Always, it was emphasized, the Mennonites have sought to bring relief where needed to individuals without becoming involved in capital expenditures and institutional forms.⁵⁴ MCC seeks to help Mennonites in need, but Christian concern reaches far beyond the immediate "family." During the acute period in Jordan relief was provided as available, but this was phased out to the extent that public agencies could provide

⁵² For a thorough study of the refugee work of the MCC see John D. Unruh, *In the Name of Christ: A History of the Mennonite Central Committee and Its Services 1920-1951*. One chapter, "Refugees and Mennonite Aid," pp. 175-223, deals specifically with refugees. See also M. C. Lehman, *History and Principles of Mennonite Relief Work*.

⁵³ *ME*, I, 286.

⁵⁴ Interview with Herbert Swartz, Jerusalem, Jordan, 18 Oct. 1965. Mr. Swartz heads the Mennonite work in Jordan.

help. Self-help and educational opportunities have been favored. In spite of difficulties in so bitter an environment as Palestine the MCC has tried to keep alive a "ministry of reconciliation" in the midst of hatred and violence. Other work is carried on in India, Hong Kong, Korea, Algeria, and the Congo.

I have had in my files since its publication a little booklet distributed by the American Friends Service Committee in 1939 entitled *Refugee Facts*. It set forth the problem of refugees from Nazi Germany and sought to elicit support and sponsorship for admission to the United States. The AFSC had had experience with such needs before, for its history, like that of the MCC, goes back to World War I. As with so much of American Quakerism, its conception was guided by Rufus M. Jones, who for long served as its chairman. During World War II this peace church maintained a Christian witness through relief of suffering wherever it was possible. The Friends never attempted to establish a major machine for service, but rather sought to bring dedicated personnel to share in work carried on by public or other voluntary agencies. Words favored by Quakers in describing the participation of AFSC in service projects are "enabler" and "catalyst," meaning that the participation is on a personal rather than material basis, and the worker serves as a channel for ideas and suggestions by which people may help themselves.

This concern is illustrated well in Hong Kong, where the material solution of the problem goes far beyond the capacity of a small group. In the Li Chang Uk Resettlement Estate in Kowloon, in the fishing villages of Tsung Hau and Hung Hau, the AFSC workers helped guide ideas and plans to the point where the people themselves could go ahead. An improved path was constructed by the people of Tsung Hau using materials supplied by the government and living on food supplied by another welfare organization. The Quakers provided encouragement and incentive and procedure. Thus, as an AFSC leaflet has it, "The story of Tsung Hau, the village that helped itself, has a happy ending. Buoyed up by the increased confidence she gained by learning to read and write, one of the village girls went out and got herself a job. In the history of the village that had never happened before. In short order, ten other girls followed her." That is the way the Quakers, inveterate optimists, would want it to happen.

In Hong Kong and in Florida the AFSC has shared in the resettling of refugees, Chinese and Cuban. The primary effort has been to find, among the Quaker meetings, people willing to provide sponsorships under the law. Work with Cuban refugees began in Miami as early as 1960. The cooperative character of AFSC, as well as other religious

agencies, is shown in the resettlement of the Old Ritualists from Turkey in 1963 described in the previous chapter. The Tolstoy Foundation had a direct interest and sponsored the movement. The Service to Refugees of the WCC offered its extensive facilities. A camp was improved by volunteer workers sent by the MCC. And the AFSC provided interpreters, English teachers, and some medical and food supplies.

Finally, mention should be made of the numerous agencies, in addition to those already listed, of the various churches in many different countries which parallel and supplement the agencies of American origin. Organizations in the United States have received fuller attention because they have been favored with far greater resources and have expressed that activist concern for social service so characteristic of American Christianity. But in France, for example, a nation brought to its knees by years of suffering under Nazi domination during the war, even in the midst of the turmoil French Protestants, mainly youth, organized the *Comité Inter-Mouvements auprès des Evacués* (CIMADE). It began in 1939 to help refugees in Alsace.⁵⁵ After the Germans occupied France, CIMADE continued to act, sometimes illegally, to help refugees escape across the mountains into Switzerland. When the war ended, it became a service organization for wider activity by the French Reformed Church. It has engaged in youth work and in industrial projects with the alienated proletariat. In Switzerland there is *Secours Suisse* and a "Bread for Our Neighbor" program.⁵⁶ The Waldenses, frequently in need themselves in the course of their long history, maintain two homes for old refugees, one of them in Torre Pellice, the historic headquarters. I visited it in 1958 just as it was being opened for old people brought all the way from Hong Kong.

In addition to all the agencies of the churches are the interdenominational organizations like the various national and international forms of the Red Cross and the international YMCA and YWCA. Because of their experience in war work of all kinds these nondenominational organizations were best prepared in the chaotic days right after the war to begin relief operations with a minimum of confusion. The WCC was not yet even in existence, and denominational agencies only slowly became aware of the magnitude of the problem. And that is by no means the end of the list.

As this book is being written, the entire field of service to refugees is undergoing a reappraisal in relation to the broader problems of migration

⁵⁵ *Christian Century*, 17 Feb. 1954, p. 212.

⁵⁶ Ecumenical Press Service, 29 June 1962.

generally, including the migrant worker, and the growth of world population. Ultimately the dilemma of the refugee in the "century of the homeless man" becomes the problem of vast movements, forced and voluntary, of people in a world in which travel and facilities for transportation have improved and expanded rapidly and the number of people is multiplying at a frightening rate. Leslie Cooke reflected this wider concern in comments made in 1964: "The Refugee Service continues to render a necessary and significant service with which the churches are familiar. But the whole question of refugees, and the needs of migrants and uprooted peoples, are taking on a new dimension."⁵⁷ And, unless some factors of control are forthcoming, the increasingly volatile migratory movements and pressures of population will grow until there is no room left for refugees anywhere.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 30 July 1964.

Chapter 38

The Land of Nod, East of Eden

Then Cain went away from the
presence of the Lord, and dwelt in
the land of Nod, east of Eden.

Genesis 4:16

*T*here is a double poignancy in the plaintive quatrain of A. E. Housman,
Housman,

And how am I to face the odds
Of man's bedevilment and God's?
I, a stranger and afraid
In a world I never made.¹

How does a man feel when he experiences life as a conspiracy in which man and God are combined against him? Those are indeed long odds. Always in the background of refugee life is the troubling question Why? Why do men so often act without patience and toleration, without compassion and mercy, toward their fellowmen? More troubling still, why does God the loving Father permit his children Cain and Abel still to run loose on earth in perpetuation of the murderous theme derived from the exile east of Eden? Must Abel always play the victim to Cain's aggression?

A. The Refugee Individual

Arthur Foster put his finger precisely on the personal factor in the history of religious refugees when he said, "A person who has lost his

¹ From "The laws of God, the laws of man" from *The Collected Poems of A. E. Housman*. Copyright 1922 by Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc. Copyright 1950 by Barclays Bank Ltd. Reprinted by permission of Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., and The Society of Authors as the literary representative of the Estate of A. E. Housman, and Jonathan Cape Ltd., publishers of A. E. Housman's *Collected Poems*.

roots is not a normal person in the first generation—particularly when there is a religious element.”² Such a person is in shock, and because the shock has social as well as individual dimensions it is long in wearing off. Our story has dealt chiefly with groups large and small rather than with individuals. The attention given to these groups, however, these dozens and hundreds and thousands and hundreds of thousands, should not obscure the extremely personal nature of the experiences related here. The shock which comes with being uprooted, more or less violently, followed by transportation or flight to some strange land of insecure refuge, cannot be exaggerated. Albert Schweitzer was thinking along these lines when he commented, “This is the worst violation of historic truths and of the rights of man: when the right to their homeland is denied to certain human beings so that they are forced to leave their homesteads.”³ The study of refugee psychology is still in its infancy, but already obvious are the scars and wounds deep-graved in the very being of adults caught in mid-career in the storms of persecution and the fires of flight. More pathetic are the anxieties of insecurity and the terrors of the unknown marked indelibly in the personalities of the little children, many of whom have never known a life other than that of the fugitive. Whether one is dealing with persons hopelessly enmeshed in the chronic social trap of the Arab refugee camps in the Near East, or with the homesick Waldenses bitterly biding their time until the day of return to their beloved valleys, he has to do with persons caught up in affairs too large for them to understand, much less control, “strangers and afraid in a world they never made.”

This history has made manifest the great variety of refugee types. They may be divided into political, economic, and religious categories, to which might be added the cultural-intellectual expatriates. They may be arranged according to geographical or social categories. Governments like to establish complicated definitions which distinguish displaced persons from escapees and ethnic from non-ethnic, national from non-national. One possible classification would arrange them along a centripetal-centrifugal pattern. At the one extreme would be those who were driven *in* instead of *out*, of whom the most common would be the refugees of the ghetto. These are people who have literally been pushed into a center, not flung out beyond the perimeter. In a real sense the inhabitants of a ghetto are refugees, uprooted from the context of the general society around them. Presently, of course, their roots may strike deep into the

² Personal interview, Salzburg, 13 Sept. 1965.

³ Quoted in Edgar H. S. Chandler, *High Tower of Refuge*, p. 26.

ghetto way of life, and they may become quite resistant to change. The line between privilege and prohibition, between freedom to stay in the ghetto and freedom to leave it, becomes fuzzy.

Closely related to the ghetto refugee is the underground refugee. He has moved away from, not toward, the center, but he has not gone far. He is "still at home" but no longer visible. A good illustration of this type of refugee is the Church of the Desert in France after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. History is full of underground churches, communities of Christians who have taken refuge in invisibility or anonymity. One way to escape from persecution is to keep one's mouth shut. If that fails, one can go into hiding, as did the Lollards of fourteenth-century England and the Hutterites of sixteenth-century Slovakia. The latter went underground literally, in their caves or *lochy*.

Next would come the groups more readily identified as proper refugees, those who have fled or been forced across the border from an intolerant to a tolerant land. French Reformed refugees in Geneva could look back through the Rhône gorge or over the hills of the Pays de Gex into their old homeland. So could the exiles in Emden, wandering a little way up the Ems, come near the land of their Germanic origin. So could Walloons and Flemish in Vlissingen look across the water to Zeeuwsch Vlaanderen and the ancient land of Bruges. French refugees in the Rhineland, Waldensian refugees on the shores of Lac Léman, Cathari in Milan, Carinthians in Transylvania, to say nothing of Cubans in Miami, Arabs in Jordan, and Angolans in the Congo—all were in a land of first refuge, the hospitable neighbor. There the exiles could find temporary shelter until the time, they hoped, of a joyous return. This type of eager refugee, eye fixed on the homeland just over the horizon, is to be located midway along our centripetal-centrifugal continuum. He is impatient with time and his hosts; he is a plotter and conniver; he is probably hard to live with. If he cherishes a wounded conscience as a religious refugee, he may be quite insufferable. He knows he cannot return home today but insists on tomorrow at the very latest. He grudgingly accepts accommodations where he is but will not settle down, nor will he move on to more suitable quarters farther away. He must be ever close to the border, ready momentarily to rush back where he came from, prepared to right the wrongs which led to his exile, eager to bring retribution on those responsible for his expulsion, who indeed, if he is successful, may take his place at border-sitting. Fresh refugees in a land of first refuge, anywhere, any time, may manifest the worst features of refugee psychology. Of course, they may also be quite agreeable.

Farther out are the types who have nearly abandoned any hope of

returning home, who have therefore accepted kind invitations to resettle in a foreign land. Some may not be very far removed geographically, like the Huguenots in Brandenburg or the Swiss in the Palatinate, but they have made their decision to throw in their lot with the new country. Their longing for home has become nostalgia. They no longer plot, they only dream. The ancestral lines become ever more tenuous, as family, language, and culture disappear in the inexorable process of assimilation. The process may be rapid, as with the Huguenots in Prussia, or extremely slow, as with the Mennonites in America. But their children and their children's children become a new people in a new land. They have long since ceased to be refugees. At times the resettlement may carry groups of human beings halfway around the world to find their ultimate destinations. How long was the route that took the Russian Orthodox refugees from their old home to China and Hong Kong, and thence eventually to the Brazilian wilderness! In the relative terms of history the voyage of the Pilgrim Fathers was as long. So was the journey of the children of Israel to the Promised Land. Today a "century of the homeless man" has made a melting pot of the whole world—Tibetans in Switzerland, Mennonites in Paraguay, Dukhobors in Canada, Germans in Australia. To be sure, some of the ingredients of this global melting pot are tough and not readily assimilated. But, if the past history of movements of religious refugees is any indication, sooner or later the peculiar people become part of the people—except perhaps the Jews and other remarkably cohesive groups, who may represent after all only an extension of the "later."

The refugees of ultimate resettlement may be reluctant or enthusiastic. They may drag their feet every inch of the way or greet the new world ecstatically (Albert Einstein is said to have coined the phrase "exiled into Paradise" with regard to his own experience in finding a new home in the New World). The prospects of assimilation also vary radically. Witness the difference between the Waldenses of 1687 in Switzerland, who would scarcely pass the time of day with their hosts, and those of the end of the century in Württemberg, who became new citizens with amazing rapidity. Whatever the problems of assimilation, they were not so pestiferous as those in the lands of first refuge, the *Durchgangsländer*. There the contrasts of language, culture, and quite probably religion were more starkly delineated. There the frustrations and disappointments were more immediate and strongly tinged with hope of return. Geneva, Emden, Heidelberg, London, and in the twentieth century Vienna, Athens, Hong Kong, and Miami went through a different experience with refugees from that of, say, Sydney, Chicago, Winnipeg,

Berdyansk, São Paulo, and Newton, Kansas. Perhaps the same contrast could be drawn in ancient times between Pella and Babylon, or, with the Hussite-Moravians, Tabor, Herrnhut, Bethlehem.

At the far extreme, opposite the ghetto refugees, stand groups whose definition as refugees at all is subject to debate. They are the ones who, from other points of view, appear as missionaries or pioneers. It is a matter of original motivation. If constraint enters in at the beginning as a factor in migration, then perhaps we are dealing with refugees. If the constraint takes the form of religious persecution, then we have religious refugees. But what if these harried travelers, once they land on the farther shore, take up the missionary staff or the pioneer hoe and get about their business? Was Paul in any sense a refugee? Or Athanasius? What about Peter Waldo, Balthasar Hubmaier, John Calvin, Pierre Jurieu, Roger Williams, Dr. Allen at Douai, or Bishop De Cheverus in Boston? These men all found such a calling in exile that they discovered a new career. When does the refugee merge into the missionary and the pioneer? Whole groups can be understood in this light: the Jews in the Gentile world, the Pilgrims in New England, the Mormons on the way west. William Bradford explicitly avowed the missionary motive for his company:

Lastly (and which was not least), a great hope and inward zeal they had of laying some good foundation, or at least to make some way thereunto, for the propagating and advancing the gospel of the kingdom of Christ in those remote parts of the world; yea, though they should be but even as stepping stones unto others for the performing of so great a work.⁴

The latter situation raises another question with regard to refugee movements, the question of response to challenge. What a difference between the Jews weeping by the rivers of Babylon and the Jews at the ramparts in Palestine in 1948! Yet in both cases they were largely refugees, with a strong religious element present. What about the Armenians and the Assyrians, refugees of similar origin and experience but of so different response? At some stage along the way the refugee may be transformed from a person fleeing from some terror into a person approaching some great opportunity. History has challenged him by placing an obstacle in his path. He responds by grasping the chance to make his witness as a Christian—or perchance as a Zionist or a Moslem. He has lost one career but made another. The refugee has become the pioneer; he has moved from destruction to creation. The entire story of the Huguenots of the dispersion is a case study in challenge-response. What a

⁴ William Bradford, *Of Plymouth Plantation*, p. 25.

galaxy of able leaders emerged from the sorry little bands of refugees all around the borders of France after 1685—in Switzerland, the Rhineland, Prussia, and Holland, to say nothing of England just across the Channell! Simply list, for example, one tight little group: Abbadie, Basnage, Bayle, Benoit, Jurieu.

These men stirred up an intellectual ferment which excited the minds of Europeans for generations and elicited the admiration of even so doughty an opponent as Bishop Bossuet. Holland and Switzerland especially were the beneficiaries of a magnificent although intangible heritage brought by the refugee Huguenots, who, instead of weeping by the rivers, addressed themselves to the great problems of life in the world in accordance with their stance as refugees. There appeared a large body of literature identified with the refugee movement, a sideline literature called by Erich Haase "*vergessene Randliteratur*" ("forgotten marginal literature").⁵ The works of Bayle and Jurieu stand out as landmarks in modern politics, philosophy, and ethics, although their theology may belong to a past era. Here was a superior response to a major challenge. And France was the loser. Whatever may be determined with regard to the economic effects of the Huguenot emigration, its intellectual effects were immense, and tragic, insofar as the French homeland perceptibly stiffened in a sort of intellectual rigor mortis which was loosed only with the violence of the French Revolution.

B. The Refugee Church

In the course of this history a new image of the church has emerged. It is distinguished by many features, but one in particular would appear to be endemic—persecution. The psalmist acknowledged this fact and speculated about the reasons for it, knowing also that of old God had driven out the nations and set the people of God free: "Nay, for thy sake we are slain all the day long, and accounted as sheep for the slaughter" (Ps. 44:22). Jesus warned his followers that persecution would be their lot (Matt. 5:10, Luke 21:12, John 15:20). Refugees for conscience' sake learned the lesson over and over again, as illustrated by the classic definition by Jean Crespin in the sixteenth century: "Among the marks of the true church of God, this one stands out, namely, that she has from all time suffered the assaults of persecution."⁶ Yet frequently Christians were to be found among the persecutors rather than among the perse-

⁵ *Einführung in die Literatur des Refuge*, p. 24.

⁶ *Histoire des martyrs*, II, xxxiii, quoted in original at head of ch. 9, Vol. I.

cuted. No church has had a monopoly on either. It was Theodore Beza, not some grand inquisitor, who said, "Religious liberty is a devilish dogma, since it means everyone can go to hell in his own way."⁷ Long before, in the seventh-century Persian troubles in Palestine, Byzantine Christians, who had been persecuting Jews for a long time, found themselves persecuted by Jews between 614 and 628. Then Heraclius returned to power in the region, and Christians massacred Jews. The country in which, after 1492, there were few Jews to persecute, Spain, possessed in the twentieth century a few thousand uneasy Protestants who, in spite of the constitutional guarantees, continued to suffer persecution, although it was not so barbaric as that once practiced. This situation continued even after the winds of fresh air which blew from the Second Vatican Council. Pope Paul VI himself was moved to intervene in Spanish affairs with an appeal for toleration: "Don't be afraid of religious liberty. I know full well that circumstances in Spain are very special and shall be with Spain. But the Spaniards should be with the pope. They must not be afraid of religious liberty."⁸ No wonder Longfellow's "Theologian's Tale" about Torquemada concluded with

But Torquemada's name, with clouds o'ercast,
Looms in the distant landscape of the Past,
Like a burnt tower upon a blackened heath. . .

Persecution, then, and the ensuing suffering are one of three forms of tension inevitable in refugee life. The extreme expressions of this tension reveal a sort of social schizophrenia. What are we to make of governments and churches that order heretics out and then make every effort to prevent their departure? Some Jews in the Middle Ages were subjected to forced baptism; others were branded lest they be accidentally baptized. Some dissidents have been forcibly converted; others have been strictly segregated. Ecclesiastical and theological zeal have always conflicted with political and economic prudence.

Besides these tensions, derived directly from persecution, are two other forms of strain characteristic of refugee life. On the one hand are the troubles involved in relations between refugees and their sometimes unwilling hosts. Defoe's "True-Born Englishman" reflected these as he criticized the king:

⁷ *Epistolarum Theologicarum Theodori Bezae Vezelij, Liber Unus* (Geneva, 1575), p. 20: "*Est enim hoc mire diabolicum dogma, sinendum esse unumquemque ut si volet pereat.*" I am indebted to Roland Bainton for this reference and translation.

⁸ *New York Times*, 11 Oct. 1964. Cf. *Christian Century*, 9 Dec. 1964, for reports of new troubles in Spain.

We blame the King that he relies too much
On strangers, Germans, Huguenots and Dutch.

The difficulties could be broadly political or economic, or they could be based on narrow insignificant differences of customs and mores. The natives of Bern were scandalized at the indecorous behavior of the Huguenots of the dispersion during services of worship. They were at some pains to spell out in detail, as if for bumptious children, the proper manner of coming before the august presence of God. On the other hand were the tensions which developed within the refugee communities themselves. These also seem to be endemic to such a society as soon as the pressures of original persecution are removed. Because of the nature of the refugees' experience, being torn out of the old ways and exposed to many new ones, they faced the conflict between tradition and innovation. The result sometimes was the crystallization of extremes, in which one side adhered with incredible obstinacy to the old ways transplanted and the other side insisted on adaptation to new conditions. A Jurieu could become a Calvinist of the Calvinists in certain respects, while a Bayle could become emancipated from the old loyalties. A conservative wing would seek to preserve and cherish loyalty to what had been, while a creative wing would seek to strike out into a brave new world. These tensions frequently led to serious schisms among the refugees themselves, as with the Mennonites and the Dutch church of Austin Friars. But, while some tended to remain conservative, others, like the Huguenots, were inclined to create new responses to the challenges. The Huguenots themselves, however, demonstrated a divisive conflict between conservative and liberal wings: Whereas under some circumstances they actually developed a doctrine of the right of revolution, at other times they adhered to the status quo, as for example in their support of the Restoration in England even at the expense of their natural allies, the Puritans, and in the aristocratic-flavored society of colonial Charleston in South Carolina. Both trends, the conservative and the liberal, were valid forms of response to the basic challenge facing the refugee everywhere.

Therefore a prime mark of the church as viewed from the perspective of the refugee for conscience' sake is suffering, whether directly as a result of persecution or indirectly as a factor of refugee life. Disruption becomes a characteristic of the Christian life, individually, socially, spiritually. No refugee can be sure of what the morrow holds: Insecurity, anxiety, frustration, and fear are woven into the fabric of life. This says something about the church in such an environment. And it says something about the church therefore in the total environment of the

twentieth century—for this is the century of the homeless man. In this age no man, whether he is a refugee or not, can be sure of what the morrow holds. Of all men it can be said today that insecurity, anxiety, frustration, and fear are woven into the fabric of life. Does this suggest that the church in the world must be prepared to be scattered, to lose its institutional roots, the accouterments of its visible form? Is the entire story of religious refugees over the centuries a sort of prognostication for the church in the world of tomorrow?

Whether or not this be so, let us look at some of the implications. Immediately we are confronted with that little word "home." Everywhere in this history we have encountered the poignant distress which always accompanies leaving home. Words like *pays* and *Heimat* carry deep emotional connotations. The refugee displays almost universal longing to return home, whether his desire is involved in immediate planning and plotting or is stretched over the years into vague nostalgia. This is the force that steeled the Waldenses in their Glorious Return and the Arabs in their bitter years as career refugees. But the great lesson many religious refugees learned was that a new home could be built in the wilderness. The Jews of the Exile learned that God was already present in Babylon and could there be worshiped without a Temple. The medieval Cathari knew that they could cherish their faith in the mountain fastness of Montségur, in the deep forest of the Cévennes, or in the strange land of their Balkan refuge. The Mennonites have found a way to live and worship all around the world. Where is home? Religious refugees have discovered an answer to that question which applies even to the homeless. Home is not *back there* but *out front*. The author of Hebrews, who has given to this history its title, tells us that "people who speak thus make it clear that they are seeking a homeland" (Heb. 11:14). Augustine's dictum puts the same thought in personal devotional terms: "*Cor nostrum inquietum donec requiescat in te*" ("Our heart is restless till it finds rest in thee"). Refugees for conscience' sake, of whatever age or continent, have something important to say to human beings in this century of the homeless man.

In recent years Christians have been hearing about "diaspora Christianity." One of the most incisive statements is contained in a little essay by Karl Rahner entitled, in its original form, "Konziliare Lehre der Kirche und künftige Wirklichkeit christlichen Lebens" and published in English as "The Teaching of Vatican II on the Church and the Future Reality of Christian Life."⁹ This vision of Rahner's—it is something like

⁹ *Schriften zur Theologie*, Vol. VI; *Christian of the Future*, pp. 77-104.

a vision—begins with the assertion that in the future Christians, a decreasing minority, will exist in the “diaspora of the Gentiles.” “Everywhere will be diaspora and the diaspora will be everywhere.” Moreover, the new form of the church will be utterly dependent on faith because it will no longer have much left of institutional strength. This is another way of describing a refugee movement.

The universal aspects of Rahner’s vision likewise reflect the situation of refugees for conscience’ sake. As he expressed it in the terms of the Constitution on the Church promulgated by Vatican II, the church under these circumstances becomes quite literally “*sacramentum salutis totius mundi*” (“the sacrament for the salvation of the whole world”)—not because the Church has pervaded and overcome all society and has brought the message of salvation to every man, but because it “is not simply the sign of God’s mercy for those who explicitly belong to it. It is the mighty proclamation of the grace which has already been given for the world, and of the victory of this grace for the world.” Like the Christian refugee, the Christian of the future will be alone in a vast mass of non-church members, but he will not thereby become one of a small sect of the chosen few. He will be rather the “advance party” of that larger company who do not yet even know who and what they are—all children of God, not yet willing to admit their true brotherhood. The church thus becomes the visible sign of a larger reality. Again in the language of the Constitution on the Church, salvation will include many who, although they have not received and accepted the gospel, come unknowing under its redeeming grace. It would appear that the choir of heaven is being enlarged. This is not to say that all men will be saved necessarily, or that sin is no longer a factor in life. But it does suggest that some earlier definitions of the communion of saints dating from the days of Cyprian and Augustine are in for some revision.

One lesson that may be learned from a history of religious refugees is useful as we contemplate the implications of Rahner’s vision. Some impatient Christians are eager to get rid of all the ecclesiastical baggage and launch forth into diaspora Christian witness. The parish church is dead, or at least outmoded, they say; let us get on with the business of witness in the currents of secular life. Refugees, I think, knew better. They understood what it meant to be cast adrift, roots torn up, on the foreign shores of secular life. After undertaking the necessary struggle for survival, the next thing they did was build a church. Scattered all over Europe today are the old churches raised by refugee communities—Waldenses, Hussites, Reformed, Mennonites, English, Huguenots, and all the rest. In Austria after World War II appeared little communities in

the suburbs of the cities or in the country, each formed by a company of refugees from the east or south, mostly ethnic Germans. There they are living in little villages like Bürmoos near Salzburg, Elixhausen, Rosenau bei Lenzing, new, neat, each with its modern though modest church, traditional in general architectural form as befits conservative Lutherans, yet thoroughly of the twentieth century in structure and equipment. The point is, religious refugees learned the hard way that abandonment of institutional forms is not necessarily something fervently to be desired unless they can be replaced by some other form of the church. Even if you don't need the building, you do need the congregation of the faithful in the midst of life.

Nevertheless, the story of Christian refugees points up instructive parallels to the vision of diaspora Christianity in the future. One learns he *can* do without many institutional forms and visible accouterments. Refugees learn to travel light spiritually. Moreover, their involvement in secular life, at least during the acute stages of their experience, is total. The mere task of struggling to build a new life in different surroundings requires a continuing involvement in and concern with "the secular city" which is inescapable. The time may come—although it need not—when the refugee community becomes isolated from the mainstream of life. But that is the open choice, and this history has revealed countless forms of response to challenge. A refugee can flee from the world as completely as a medieval monk, or he can immerse himself in the streams of life as completely as the most dedicated brother of the urban worker, servant of the poor migrant, or counselor to the confused mind. He too can say he knows because he has lived through it. A refugee for conscience' sake, it might be said, is especially trained for service in the church of diaspora. He has already been through the sieve of life, is a member of that advance party of which Rahner speaks. Christianity of the true refugee community is "sieved Christianity."

In concluding this work we are drawn inevitably to the historic affirmations rooted in Scripture. It is not by accident that Calvin, in a notable preface for Olivetan's French New Testament, itself a product of a refugee movement, chose to emphasize the theme we have followed. He wrote, "But we know that if we shall be banished from one country, the whole world is the Lord's; and that if we be thrown out of the world itself, nevertheless we shall not be altogether outside of his kingdom."¹⁰

¹⁰ *Corpus Reformatorum, Calvini Opera*, IX, 809, 810: "Mais nous sçavons bien que quand nous serons bannys d'ung pays, la terre est au Seigneur. Et quand nous serons iectez de toute la terre, que nous ne serons pas toutefois hors de son regene." "Atque illud non minus constat, etiamsi ex certa regione adeoque natali ipso solo, migrare

One may become a refugee of faith after the fashion of Cain, who was condemned for his sin to be "a fugitive and wanderer on the earth," in the land of Nod, east of Eden. But even Cain in exile bore the mark of the Lord. Or one may spiritualize the concept after the fashion of Paul in II Corinthians: "For we know that if the earthly tent we live in is destroyed, we have a building from God, a house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens" (5:1). Always, in view of these centuries of religious refugees, the church must be a supple and lean church, prepared to move out into exile any moment, ready to find its essential *being* in the process of *becoming*, seeking not the permanent roots of status but the peripatetic roots of change, not so much like the sturdy oak as like the flowing aquatic plant. This is the church which will be able to follow Cain into the land of Nod, Paul to the Macedonians, and the host of refugee wanderers of all times. That kind of church is important for a century of homeless men.

And is there not a christological meaning of the Christian as refugee? His Redeemer was himself a refugee in the world. "For God sent the Son into the world, not to condemn the world, but that the world might be saved through him" (John 3:17). So Christ came a stranger into a far country and told his followers, "I was a stranger and you welcomed me" (Matt. 25:35). And after persecutio and death he returned home, a refugee of reconciliation.

Perhaps the central feature of a refugee movement is the first: leaving home. But the ultimate significance lies in seeking a new home. Refugees are people looking for a "better country," and they live in faith that God has prepared for them a city (Heb. 11:16). Thus the promise of Isaiah is a fitting conclusion of the matter:

And the ransomed of the Lord shall return,
and come to Zion with singing;
everlasting joy shall be upon their heads;
they shall obtain joy and gladness,
and sorrow and sighing shall flee away.
(Isa. 35:10)

People who embark on that kind of journey are well advised to cling not to the Temple but to the Ark.

videbimur, Domini esse terram et orbem: imo, et terra etiam pulsos, et omni hospitio prohibitos, extra Dei regnum nihilo magis futuros." Cf. *Library of Christian Classics*, XXIII, 67.

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